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ORESTES A. BROWNSON AND AMERICAN HISTORY

By

Thomas T. McAvoy*

Orestes Augustus Brownson has a place in American history as a social reformer, as a journalist, as a literary critic, as a philosopher, and as a lay theologian. In most American histories his name is not written large nor are many lines devoted to him, except as a member of the Transcendentalist group of New England. Nor is his name mentioned very often among the writers of American history. To discuss Brownson and American history, then, we must examine him from a viewpoint he did not actually use himself. This is not surprising since formal American history has generally been dated from the incidents of the year of his death, or more specifically from the nationalism aroused by the celebration that year, 1876,[1] of the centennial of American independence.

During most of Brownson's active career a writer of American history was primarily a litterateur. His contemporaries, George Bancroft and Francis Parkman, had copied enough of the scientific method to base their studies upon documentary sources, but they would scarcely have achieved their recognition without the literary quality of their writings. The attempt to rationalize the history of the new nation, to explain genetically what is the special character of the American nation and citizen, had just begun. Bancroft had

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[1] Michael Kraus. *A History of American History* (New York, 1937), pp. 298-299; 336-379.

sought in his accounts of the beginning of the United States to tell the story of the victory of the concept of democracy; Parkman also had as his theme for colonial history the victory of individualistic Anglo-Saxon culture over the inferior paternalistic French culture. The historical spirit of the centennial celebration of 1876, however, was one of national glorification. Even though Brownson died that year, he had already in many ways accepted the growing nationalism that followed the Civil War. In his attempts to define the origin and nature of the American Republic and to set forth his notion of the destiny of that republic, Brownson did give in outline a theory of American development. Nevertheless, it is well to remember that even in this outline he wrote as a political theorist rather than as an historian.

Brownson in his criticism of George Bancroft's fourth volume in April, 1852, gave us his notion of the qualities of a good historian. He rejected Bancroft's claim to be an historian because "he simply uses history for the purpose of setting forth, illustrating, confirming, and disseminating his speculative theories on God, man, and society." In the next few lines of the essay he excluded himself from the ranks of historians by his statement of the qualities of an historian:

> History is not a speculative science; it deals exclusively with facts, and is simply a record of events which have succeeded one another in time. No doubt, facts or events are not isolated; no doubt, they have their causes, their relations, and their meaning, which are the proper subject of historical investigation; no doubt, the historian with regard to these may have a theory, and arrange and explain his facts in accordance with it. Every historian, who would rise above the dry annalist or bald chronicler of events, does and must so arrange and explain them. But this theory must be historical, not speculative; that is, it must be a theory for the explanation of the purely historical, not the metaphysical, origin, causes, relations, and meaning of facts. It must be itself within the order of facts, and, like all inductive theories, a mere generalization or classification of facts in their own order.

Had Brownson written American history in his day he would have probably written against the notions of Bancroft[2] or of Parkman.[3] He did spend considerable time criticizing his friend Bancroft, whom

[2] *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* VI New Series (October, 1852), 421-459.

[3] Brownson's only discussion of Parkman in the collected works consists of about three pages (III, 298-301) on Parkman's work, *The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century* (Boston, 1867).

he called a "philosophical historian," but he criticized him as a political theorist and only incidentally as an historian. In common with the cultural trends of his day Brownson was more concerned with the rise of European civilization and with religious and philosophical theory than with American history. Insofar as he was conscious of American history, Brownson seemed to adhere to the nationalist trend, varying this nationalism to fit his own position as a convert to Catholicism. Yet he does not seem to have envisioned a peculiarly American civilization.

The attempts since Brownson's day to develop a concept of American civilization or culture as something different from that of the old world has involved two factors with which Brownson was definitely familiar but which he did not consider as civilizing forces: namely the frontier and rising industrialization. The use of the frontier thesis to explain American development and the use of the economic interpretatation of American history are definitely lacking in Brownson's historical evaluations. He did feel that the United States had a special mission in the modern world but, even though he was born in Vermont in 1803 and had gone as far west as Detroit in his early years, the notion of a culture created by the open lands and forests of the new world does not seem to have occurred to him. As a matter of fact his reaction to the election of 1840 in which the West played such an important role would indicate a rejection of such an hypothesis.[4] Likewise, while his essays on the "Laboring Classes" in 1840[5] are very Marxian in their proposals, the Beardian notion of the superiority of an industrial civilization was far from Brownson's opinions. His sense of community was a spiritual, not a material concept. Had he lived to hear these modern theories of American history he would have been impelled in his energetic way to evaluate these notions against his own concept of American history. I do not think he would have accepted entirely either hypothesis, although he had already come to believe in an American nationality.

In his own life Brownson was in the main stream of the raw material of American history. He received his early training in the

[4] Cf. Brownson's essay, "The Democratic Principle" in *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, I Last Series (April, 1873), 235-259, especially pp. 253-254.

[5] Cf. "The Laboring Classes," *Boston Quarterly Review*, III (July, 1840), 358-395 and III (October, 1840), 420-510.

"standing order"[6] that was the basic Puritan culture of New England, coming of age in the middle period of American history after the United States had turned its back upon Europe and begun to untangle the domestic problems of internal improvements, westward expansion, the factory movement, the bank, social reform, manhood suffrage and, eventually, slavery and centralization. Until his conversion to Catholicism cut him off from the cultural majority of the country, Brownson lived and wrote in the very heart of most of those movements which tried to solve these great problems of young America. In the 1830's Orestes Brownson, while a preacher of note and a successful journalist, had personal contacts with such social reformers as Fanny Wright, Robert Owen, Bronson Alcott, and George Ripley, and with romanticists such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Thoreau of the Transcendental Club; he was active in the Workingman's Party and in the radical eastern wing of the Democratic Party. That his radical essays in 1840 caused the defeat of Martin Van Buren in his campaign for re-election that year, as has been claimed, seems to me unlikely, but they do place him at the very center of American radical political activity in one of the most important struggles of the pre-Civil War decades.

When Brownson entered the political discussion of slavery he had left, by his conversion, the main stream of American cultural and political activity as far as his influence was concerned, but he had not lost any of his interest in this great national problem. He continued to oppose abolitionism on constitutional grounds until the war gave it a sanction, and he opposed secession. In the Civil War he gave his sons to the army, losing two in the conflict, and participated actively in the discussion of reconstruction. In most of these activities Brownson felt the main currents of what might be called the history of the middle period, with the exception of the westward movement; but in all this he was a participant, not a writer, of history. In one sense the subject of all his journalistic conflicts was the rule of western civilization in the United States considered as a sovereign nation, and while he discussed such foreign topics as the French elections, the papal power, and social reform in England, his major interest was at all times the rise and fall of civilization in what he considered *the* nation of the future. When in 1856 he wrote of the

[6] O. A. Brownson, *The Convert, or Leaves From My Experience* (New York, 1857), p. 9, reprinted in *Works*, V, 7.

"mission of America,"[7] he was considering the United States not only in its internal development but in its relation to the rest of the world.

It would be useless to deny that Brownson changed his opinions on many things during his long career. Whether he shifted his basic point of view can be disputed, but I do not think he did. Certainly his notion of the role of the Church in American history underwent a change. In his early career he seemed to expect the Christian kingdom to come into this world; later he passed from a Protestant notion of the Church to an anti-church notion, because of what he considered the clergy's opposition to the attainment of this utopia of human freedom.[8] Still later when he found that the people needed direction and authority he accepted the Catholic Church as that guide and authority[9] and began to insist that true liberty and the attainment of the real destiny of the American Republic depended upon American acceptance of the authority and guidance of the Catholic Church. At the same time Brownson antagonized many Catholics by his criticism of the Church[10] and the Catholic clergy because he thought that Catholics themselves were not doing what they could to promote human freedom.

In discussing Brownson's idea of American history his notion of sovereignty is important.[11] Sovereignty existed before the nation or before the people designated the governor. The government, once constituted, drew its authority from God and was obligated to rule according to God's justice. There is in this no notion of the imper-

[7] Cf. his essay with this title in *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* I New Series (July, 1856), 409-444; also in *Works,* XI, 551-584.

[8] This is the apparent reason for his attack on the clergy in his essays on the "Laboring Classes" referred in note 5 above.

[9] This is expressed in his autobiography, *The Convert* (New York, 1857), pp. 438-445, in *Works,* V, 194-199, and in *The American Republic* (New York, 1865), pp. 409-430, reprinted in *Works,* XVIII, 208-218. His insistence on Catholicism was best expressed in his essay, "Catholicity Necessary to Democracy," *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* II (October, 1845), 514-534.

[10] This criticism of churchmen increases in his essays during the 1860's. This is very clear in his essay, "Some Explanations Offered to our Catholic Readers," in *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* I National Series (October, 1864), 470-490.

[11] His notion of sovereignty is expressed in his *American Republic,* pp. 1-4; *Works,* XVIII, 6-9; and in his essay on "The Democratic Principle," *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* I Last Series, 235-237.

fection of human nature resulting from original sin[12] as a cause of human perversity or injustices. Nevertheless, he did reject the Rousseauistic and Jeffersonian notion that human nature was originally good.[13] Brownson felt a strong sense of human community, which he admitted he derived from Pierre Leroux, although his analysis of this feeling was never very clear.[14] This feeling made him believe that the attainment of human liberty was a social matter wider than the family and even than the nation. Although there is in this something akin to the doctrine of the mystical Body of Christ, I do not believe that Brownson ever came very close to that doctrine. An examination of his correspondence in the 1830's[15] shows that most of those who wrote to him thought of him as a friend of humanity, an advocate of social reform.

In his earlier approaches to American history Brownson was roughly a liberal member of the cultural majority. He believed the early Puritans[16] were democratic and liberal. He believed these Puritans, as the prototypes of American political leadership, had accepted the separation of Church and State as a relief from the undemocratic rule of the English Stuarts. Consequently, he believed that the American government and American political theory derived according to these Lockean principles was an improvement and an advance over the political notions of Europe. Having become convinced that this political idea was the best, he saw no reason for giving it up when he became a Catholic. Thus Brownson in Amer-

[12] Brownson professes a belief in the doctrine of original sin in his second essay on the "Laboring Classes," *Boston Quarterly Review,* III (October, 1840), 429, and in his discussion of slavery, but his ideas of democracy do not consider original sin as a factor in the failure of democracy. Cf. "The Democratic Principle," *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* I Last Series, 235-259.

[13] Cf. *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* I National Series, 188-189.

[14] Brownson held this doctrine of a community of humanity in various forms during his life time. It is certainly something he formulated during the period he was influenced by Leroux, although he evidently rejected the Leroux doctrine as communism after his conversion. For his earlier views see the *Boston Quarterly Review,* V (July, 1842), 257-322. His later ideas are expressed in *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* III Third Series, 183-209.

[15] These letters to Brownson are in the Brownson Papers at the University of Notre Dame.

[16] His idea that the Puritans were democratic and believed in separation of Church and State is the clearest evidence, aside from his notions of Anglo-Saxon superiority, of his belonging to the cultural majority in the United States. Cf. *Works,* XIX, 338-343.

ican Catholic history can be said to represent the thousands of American converts to Catholicism who have been a strong Americanizing influence on the Church in this country. Unfortunately, this convert element of American Catholicism has had as yet no real historian. Brownson's fellow-convert, Father Isaac Hecker, is usually associated with him in this convert point of view, but Hecker's ancestry was not Anglo-Saxon but German, and his admiration for the Anglo-American traditions did not come naturally to him as did that of Brownson.[17] Up until the Civil War Brownson was deeply convinced of the superiority of this Anglo-American inheritance and sought to unite his American democratic notions to Catholicism which he thought would provide the necessary guidance and supernaturalization to make the country into the ideal Christian commonwealth.

His coming into the Church in the eastern United States of 1844 brought Brownson face to face with a different type of Catholicism which he did not like. Brownson admired the faith of the immigrant Irish and knew that they were the victims of over 300 years of oppression which had deprived them of their own cultural and political institutions. He could sympathize with their piety. But for the ignorance of the Irish immigrants and their opposition to Anglo-American culture,[18] he had no patience. As an admirer of Anglo-American culture and a firm believer in the United States as the nation of the future, he wanted all American Catholics, and especially the numerous Irish immigrants, to adopt as quickly as possible the dominant culture of the country. In advocating this during the stormy years of the Nativism and Know-Nothingism of the 1850's he found himself between two fires. The Know-Nothings he charged with un-Americanism since they discriminated against the Irish because they were Catholic and because they were poor; the Irish he criticized for their isolation from the majority culture and their persistence in their Irish nationalism. He was endeavoring to prove to the American public that the Republic would find its full glory

[17] Cf. Ralph Gabriel's, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), pp. 52-66, and Isaac T. Hecker, *The Church and the Age* (New York, 1887), pp. 40-58.

[18] Brownson expresses this viewpoint quite brutally in a letter to James A. McMaster on March 14, 1849, in the McMaster Papers, Archives of the University of Notre Dame, and in his essays on the Nativists and Know-Nothings, *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, II, 76-98; II Third Series, 328-354; 447-487, and III Third Series, 114-135.

and reach its true destiny by accepting Roman Catholicism, and he found the poverty and the ignorance of the Irish in the tenements of New England and the Middle Atlantic States a hindrance to the conversion of America as well as a defect in the Irish themselves. Likewise he became more and more critical of the Catholic hierarchy and the other clergy for not hastening the acceptance of American democratic traditions in their flocks.[19] He lost friends in the hierarchy, and among Catholics generally. The Civil War intervened to confuse the picture. Then he opposed Lincoln[20] and criticized the conduct of the Civil War. By 1864 he did not have enough supporters left to continue his *Review*. There were rumors that Brownson was leaving the Church, although the old man insists that he never entertained such an idea even though he was reported to Rome. For the next few years Brownson disappears from view because he did not have a personal organ in which to express his views.

By the time Brownson renewed his *Review* in 1873 his attitude toward the Irish had changed, and his criticism of the hierarchy and the Jesuits for their opposition to American liberal theories had been modified to correspond with the *Quanta cura* and the *Syllabus of Errors* of Pope Pius IX.[21] In a remarkable review of Father Augustus Thébaud's book on the Irish,[22] Brownson pleaded with the Irish to remain Irish because he now saw them in their fidelity to the Church and in their cultural traditions, especially their fidelity to their faith in persecution generally, a needed contribution to American life. But by this time also Brownson had become skeptical of Americanism and had lost hope for the conversion of the United States to Catholicism. The last decade of his life was not a happy one and his dejection about America probably induced a pessimism he had formerly rejected.

There was one serious defect in Brownson's concept of the American mission which can be attributed to his Anglo-American cultural inheritance, and that was an element of racism.[23] This touch of racism in his writings goes far to explain his criticism of the Irish in the

[19] Cf. the essays referred to in note 10.

[20] His political position is shown in the essay in the same volume pp. 490-506.

[21] Cf. the introductory essay in *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, I Last Series (January, 1873), 1-8.

[22] *Ibid.* (October, 1873), 488-508.

[23] Cf. his arguments against abolitionism such as that in "Politics at Home," in I Last Series, 95-111.

first decades after his conversion. He was a believer in Anglo-Saxon political and cultural institutions, and most English-speaking people felt some of the supremacy of English imperialism in the world of the nineteenth century. Brownson admitted that the Negroes were of the human race and his early opposition to abolitionism was based on constitutional grounds and not on any acceptance of slavery. He thought the Negroes were the lowest type of the human race, beneath the white race in social and political development, and he advocated colonization out of the country or a period of tutelage or of serfdom for the liberated slave before giving him full equality. These notions are beneath his ideals as a social reformer. But, just as Brownson distinguished between the doctrines of Catholicism and the practices of Catholics regarding slavery, so we can distinguish in Brownson's theories a soundness of principles which were erroneously applied to the existing problems because he did not believe that actually all men were equal in their cultural and political attainments. His notion of freedom, like that of Thomas Jefferson, was for men able to appreciate and use it.

Before his conversion Brownson saw in the new republic of the United States the carrying out of a new ideal of freedom. This freedom could be attained in this country because the American people were avoiding the extremes of absolutism.[24] The Puritans,[25] who had played the chief role in the formation of the American government, had rejected not only the absolute monarchism of Asia and Western Europe but also the absolute democracy of ancient Greece and Rome, found later also in the Jacobin government of France. For Brownson, if the people themselves were absolute there would be no real freedom because the majority then would have absolute power just as much as any absolute monarch and could enslave the minorities. In his notion sovereignty existed before the nation itself and when the people designated a government that government must govern according to the justice of God and preserve the rights and liberties of the people. To read these ideas into his essays of the working classes in 1840 may require some bending of phrases, yet his revolutionary plans expressed in these essays to eliminate the clergy and the inheritance of property were based on his feeling that these were hindrances to this divine justice. It was the harsh rejection of those essays and disillusionment about the election of 1840

[24] Cf. note 4 above.

[25] Cf. note 16 above.

which caused Brownson to realize that above and beyond the people there must be an authority which can tell the government as well as the people what is the justice of God and the right limits of sovereignty. He realized there must be a church which could wield such authority and give this guidance. After further study he decided that that church was the Catholic Church. He was still a utopian in his plan for the future of America and soon became restive with certain non-utopian features of the Catholic Church in the United States.

Brownson brought with him into the Church his notion of democracy of government and his sense of the community of humanity, though he began under Bishop John Fitzpatrick to conform his theories to the teachings of the Church. Nevertheless, he was a severe critic of all who did not follow in his footsteps, whether they were non-believers, liberals, or the Protestants on one side, or the Irish immigrants on the other. In his *Review* he promulgated the doctrine that while the American idea of democracy was the best, that idea would receive its perfection only in the Catholic Church.

In the fervor of his acceptance of both Americanism and Catholicity he laid down a charge on the shoulders of American Catholics:

> Whether Catholicity shall do for us the work needed in this country, and therefore whether we fulfil our mission or not, depends on the fidelity or non-fidelity of Catholics themselves. It is not enough that the Catholic Church is here. She will not operate as a charm to remove existing evils or to give us the needed virtues. It is not enough that there is a large body of Catholics here; their mere presence has in itself no virtue to save the country, or to enable it to fulfil its mission. This is a fact that we should lay to heart. If Catholics do not surpass others in domestic and civil virtues, they will render the country no greater service than others. . . . It is only through Catholicity that the country can fulfil its mission, and it is through Catholics that Catholicity reaches and assists the country. The salvation of the country and its future glory depend on Catholics, and therefore they must prove themselves superior in intelligence, independence, public spirit, all the civic virtues, to non-Catholics, or else they will do nothing to save and develop American civilization.[26]

His notion of the "Mission of America" had been baptized with him, and just as Brownson found himself outside the general cultural tradition of the country by his conversion, so he found that the cultural

[26] *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, I New York Series, 433-434.

majority gave little heed to his plea that the nation accept Catholicism in order to arrive at the perfection of this mission. From this time Brownson was forced to stand on the side lines and watch the major forces of the country centered on the struggle over slavery, industrialism, financial control, and centralization of power. Neither the Irish immigrant nor the Anglo-American majority accepted his doctrines. Brownson, like so many radical reformers, taught an ideal doctrine while his work-a-day fellow citizens fought out their problems in a rather rough and tumble real world. The Catholic hierarchy, concentrating on building churches and on supernatural works, did not pay much attention to his utopian themes. In the closing volumes of his third series, during the Civil War, Brownson was busy scolding everyone, much like the hen in the fable scolding the ducklings, as they rushed into the water of American industrial civilization. Then also came the *Syllabus* against liberalism. During the following few years, until the renewal of the *Review*, we cannot follow him too well despite the fact that he continued to write in the *Catholic World* and in Sadlier's New York *Catholic News*, but it is easy to see that when he opened his last series in 1873 he was a chastened man, even though also a bit disillusioned.

When Brownson revived his *Review*, three years before his death, he was quick to assert that he had not really changed his ideas and to scout the idea that he had ever thought of leaving the Church. Truly, those who had said he was leaving the Church because of his severe criticism of the hierarchy and the Jesuits had misunderstood the idealism which had guided his life. Now he abandoned his criticism of the Church for the most part because he began to see that in the long run the Church had higher ideals and an eternal perspective. The one important thing Brownson had lost was his utopian vision of the American mission which he had shared with the reformers of the 1830's and the 1840's. No longer did he hope to see in the United States the perfection of Christian democracy. He even regretted that he had scolded the Irish for not becoming more American.[27] He urged them to remain Irish because he had come to regard American civilization as permanently Protestant. He appreciated now that their opposition to Americanization had helped to preserve their religious faith and he himself had come to realize that it was more important to have the faith than to have an ideal American democracy.

[27] Cf. as above, note 21.

There is nothing of his earlier hope for the conversion of America or of his desire that Catholics become intensely American in this passage from the essay we have just mentioned:

> There is nothing in the political or civil constitution and fundamental law of the country incompatible with the most inflexible Catholicity, but in every other sense American civilization is decidedly anti-Catholic, that is, decidedly and inveterately Protestant. It is easier for the missionary to succeed in making good Catholics of our North American Indians than of the average Americans, as we now find them. . . . In a word, he [the American] is Protestant, abhors poverty, hates Catholicity which has the same service for rich and poor, the prince and the beggar.[28]

In one sense Brownson's notion of American history changed with the passage of time and the increasing sorrows of his old age. He had not lost his ideals, but had begun to realize that they were not to be attained. America was not Catholic, nor had the American democracy avoided elements of absolutism which he feared as much as the absolutism of kings. Yet, I think American Catholics must accept his concept of the mission of America. We can accept his notion of the best government as the basic American heritage; and just as he found no inconsistency in hoping for the perfection of his ideal under the guidance of the Church, so we must realize the perfection of American democracy will be found only where the absolutism of the people and the sovereignty of the State are checked by the revealed wisdom and the authority of the Church. We can even accept his criticism of the Church and of the immigrants for their tardiness in accepting American liberties, with the reservation that American democracy is not perfect. We can also accept the wisdom of his old age in which he rejected his Anglo-Saxon racism and his harshness towards those who did not readily conform to the ideal. I think we can add another element of realism which the old man did not seem quite to accept in his disillusionment. The fact that this union of Catholic doctrine and democratic liberty is not achieved in our day need cause none of us to despair of Providence which has His own time and day or to cease to strive to fulfill Brownson's concept of the mission of America.

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[28] *Ibid.*, 505-506.

THE ROMAN QUESTION IN THE FIRST YEARS OF BENEDICT XV

By

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It would be a gross oversimplification to assume that Saint Pius X held no political interests or concepts. It is, however, correct that these spheres were to the pontiff, whose motto was *Instaurare omnia in Christo,* less significant than to his predecessor; albeit it is equally erroneous to underestimate the strictly spiritual outlook of Leo XIII.[1] Within the political sphere a distinct difference can be observed between the attitude of Leo XIII and Pius X. While there vanished the marked benevolent interest in the Slavic world, which was also characteristic of Leo XIII in the pre-Rampollian period, the strong antagonism against the Quirinal, manifest in the policy of the Vatican at least since the time of the appointment of Cardinal Rampolla as Secretary of State in the spring of 1887, was equally absent from the pontificate of Pius X. "No, we are not adversaries," Pius X said, referring to "official" Italy in the first months of his reign, "We have only different views."[2] Into this context the complaint of Prince Bülow fitted well, when he lamented the great mistake in the Italian government's failure to reach an understanding with this peace-loving

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[1] Such neglect leads to misinterpretations as are characteristic of Professor Eduard Winter's *Russland und die slavischen Völker in der Diplomatie des Vatikans, 1878-1903* (Berlin, 1950).

[2] Report Vatican, December 1, 1903.

pontiff.[3] The Austrian diplomats reported, with some surprise, that all animosity against the new kingdom seemed to have disappeared since the reign of Pius X. The attitude of the Vatican was somewhat different in regard to the Balkan nations: "Sono tutti quanti barbari," the pope had exclaimed, as reference was made in 1913 to the nations fighting against the Turks. And Pius X, as well as his Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val, apparently especially distrusted the Balkan protagonist Serbia.

In harmony with such concepts, the attitude of the Roman Curia toward the Habsburg Monarchy had become much more friendly than it had been in the period of Rampolla. The days in which the Holy See had a friendly interest in such national Slavic trends as sponsored and represented by the Croatian Bishop Joseph Strossmayer of Diakovár, were definitely gone. It is true that Pius X sometimes voiced criticism against the policy of Emperor Francis Joseph. But such remarks, far from aimed at the "tyrannical character" of the Austrian government, rather complained of its continual leniency and hesitation, of a weakness which raised doubts about the capacity of the Danubian Monarchy to continue its function as a cultural protector in the Balkans. Thus the rumors that the Vatican, and especially the Pope, were outspoken in condemning the Austrian attitude and action at the outbreak of World War I not only can be dismissed, but evidence has been found to the contrary. Cardinal Merry del Val termed the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia "very sharp," but he approved of it without reserve.[4] Pius X, as well as Merry del Val, regretted only that the Dual Monarchy had not acted much earlier against its dangerous neighbor; for then its action would probably not have involved such great risks as became manifest in the summer of 1914. A week after the death of Pius X the papal noble guard, Count Stanislaus de Witten, reported that the late Pope had said: "I have been urged repeatedly in the last weeks to intervene in the interest of peace. However, the only monarch with whom I can intervene is Emperor Francis Joseph, who always has been loyal to the Holy See. Yet in justice to him I cannot do so, because the war Austria-Hungary is fighting is a just war."[5]

[3] Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, *Tagebücher, Briefe, Erinnerungen* (Heidelberg, 1950) February 17, 1914; p. 594.

[4] Draft, July 29, 1914, Sekretierte Akten, Botschaft beim Heiligen Stuhl.

[5] Privatschreiben Prince Johann Schönburg—Hartenstein, August 26, Vatican, Varia 1914. In my article "Oesterr.-Ungarn etc.," *loc. cit.*, p. 292, note 51, I wrote

Immediately after ascending the papal throne Pius X had used the sternest measures in order to prevent the repetition of a veto by any of the powers, such as Austria had interposed in July, 1903, to prevent the election of the Secretary of State of Leo XIII. While the Habsburg Monarchy did not bow officially to the abolition of that privilege which it had claimed for centuries, no plan existed in Vienna to make use of it when Pope Pius X died in the first weeks of World War I. Yet such an attitude did not mean that the Ballhausplatz did not intend to take an active interest in the results of the conclave of 1914. It is generally assumed that the decisive issue at this papal election was formed by the attitude toward "integralism," i.e., the unwillingness to compromise on spiritual and social questions, a trend for which such cardinals as De Lai and Merry del Val had stood, and which had received encouragement by the late Pope himself during the last years of his reign. To bring the struggle on integralism to a close and to avoid acts of special rigidity was certainly the main concern of the Germans, cardinals as well as statesmen; it was an attitude that prevailed also among the Austrian-Hungarian princes of the Church. But there is evidence that the Ballhausplatz went beyond a mere theoretical position,[6] although not through a formal veto. Yet by enlisting no less efficient diplomatic means it was determined that the election of a cardinal known for holding national Italian feelings should be prevented.

Actually, since the sudden death of Rampolla in late 1913, the Sacred College was lacking in a really outstanding *papabile*. But the two cardinals who had the best chances in the summer of 1914 were the Archbishop of Milan, Andrea Ferrari, and Pietro Maffi, Archbishop of Pisa, who especially enjoyed the reputation for strong patriotic feelings. Count Berchtold, Foreign Minister of the Hapsburg Monarchy, directed his ambassador at the Holy See to inform the two Austrian cardinals who were supposed to represent the empire in the conclave, that the government certainly did not intend to influence the papal election in any way; but it felt that it would be

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that the *Annuario Pontificio* does not list the names of the papal nobleguards; Prince Francis Schwarzenberg, Loyola University, Chicago, called my attention to the fact that they are listed in the later issues, and there the name of Count Ladislaus de Witten appears under the "Esenti (Colonelli)"; the issues 1925-1926 refer to him as retired.

[6] Cf. "Oesterr.-Ungarn etc.," *loc. cit.*, pp. 296 ff.

in conformity with the interests of the Church as well as of the monarchy that a Pope should be elected who was in no way politically prejudiced, and who thus held no national bias.[7]

Since the occupation of Rome in September, 1870, Vienna had complained—and Paris had not withheld its support of such complaints—about the rift between the Vatican and the Quirinal, and that there was no chance for a reconciliation. Yet, when the hostile attitude subsided under Pius X the Ballhausplatz was far from giving its enthusiastic support to the new development. Rather, the new trend raised apprehensions that the Roman Curia was threatened with becoming Italianized; and the Austrian diplomats in Vienna and Rome busied themselves to counteract such possibilities by studying plans for a reform of the Curia.

The complaints about the threat of "Italianisation" of the Vatican[8] concerned, first, the personnel of the Curia, represented as being almost exclusively composed of Italians; the second point of criticism opposed the great majority held by Italians within the College of Cardinals. Through an interpretation, hardly juridically correct, of a canon of the Council of Trent, it was claimed that such a composition of the cardinals ran counter to the decrees of the council. These criticisms had already been written into the instructions which were given to the French ambassador to act upon during the Vatican Council: the Sacred College should become "de-Italianized" in order to make its composition conform more to the "cosmopolité universelle" upon which the Church was built, in order to render the pontifical government "plus véritablement catholique." One item went so far as to ask that the national principle be strictly applied to the College of Cardinals so that, for instance, France should have twelve, the Danubian Monarchy twenty-seven cardinals, in conformity with the number of their Catholic citizens.[9] Similar ideas were taken up by the minority at the council, especially by its most vociferous spokesman, Bishop Strossmayer; they were discussed in a much more modest way by Prince Schönburg from 1912-1914, and more radically in 1914 by the French journalists, Julien de Narfon in the *Figaro*, and Charles Loiseau in the *Revue de Paris*. Not with the Austrians,

[7] Telegram Chiffre, August 22, 1914; Päpstlicher Stuhl XII, Conclave 1914.

[8] Cf. "Oesterr. Pläne etc.," *loc. cit.*, pp. 345 ff.

[9] Instruction October 10, 1869; anonymous memorandum, tome 1044; Note historique May 31, 1870, tome 1046; Archives du ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris.

but clearly with the French, these criticisms were finally motivated by considerations as to whether it would not be wise to break with the tradition according to which Italians exclusively had been raised to the pontifical throne for nearly 400 years. The Quai d'Orsay had given vent to similar reflections in the conversations with Vienna and Lisbon in 1874 concerning the election of a successor to Pius IX.[10] Thus it can easily be understood that the Austrians, at the conclave of 1914, insisted on the elimination of cardinals who were known for their Italian national sympathies, a situation somewhat reminiscent of that existing during the last years of Cavour.

The details of the conclave of the summer of 1914 are not as yet fully known. Yet the chances of Ferrari and Maffi—"our Cardinals will be against him as against any Italianissimo," the Austrian ambassador had reported[11]—came to naught, and Giacomo della Chiesa, the Archbishop of Bologna, created cardinal in the final consistory held by the late pontiff the previous May, ascended the throne as Benedict XV. His chances had not been considered strong before the conclave opened, and it seems certain that his candidacy was supported by the cardinals of the Central Powers. In Vienna, as well as in Munich, the news of his election was received very favorably, albeit the new pontiff had been known to be a follower of Cardinal Rampolla. With the great Secretary of State, Benedict had shared a strong interest in political and especially in diplomatic problems. This kind of interest was both intensified and narrowed by the fact that Europe, at the time of his election, was largely divided into two warring camps with the neutral position of his native Italy becoming more uncertain with every passing month. The first aspect called forth the pontiff's unrelenting efforts for the promotion of peace and the relief of the plagues connected with modern warfare. It is, however, only with certain questions of the second aspect, the one that narrowed the politico-diplomatic problems of this pontificate, that this study is concerned; and for this purpose, the remarks made here in respect to the relations between Vatican and Quirinal at the time of Pius X will be carried on into the first years of Benedict XV.

It should be remembered that in the Libyan campaign of 1912 the Italian clergy had given strong evidence of a patriotic attitude,

[10] Cf. my article "Austria and the Conclave of 1878," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXXIX (July, 1953), 146.

[11] Telegram Chiffre, August 29, 1914; Conclave 1914.

and that some minor expressions of sympathy with the war aims by a member of the College of Cardinals had resulted in strongly worded protests of subjects of the Sultan who had been recently converted to Catholicism.[12] While these reactions were not too dangerous in 1912, still they were symptomatic of the difficulties the Vatican would run into if a more general conflagration should occur, especially a conflagration in which Italy might be involved. Pius X and his Secretary of State were aware of the problem. In addition, Cardinal Merry del Val did not conceal the fact that the concepts concerning the temporal power had changed, at least *pro foro interno*. "What would we do," he asked, "if they would hand us over the administration of the Leonine City? We would be very embarrassed as to how to administer it."[13] But the cardinal added that he was at a loss to make any positive suggestions as to the solution of this problem. As he was to do again in 1925 and 1926,[14] Merry del Val spoke about the danger of the Vatican becoming Italianized.

Toward the end of 1913, a Catholic "social week" was held in Milan; there two of the main speakers, the Archbishop of Udine and Count Dalla Torre, a leader of the Catholic laity of Italy, discussed the problem of the temporal power. The archbishop, implying that a renunciation of the temporal power was a possibility, suggested a solution on an international basis; Dalla Torre spoke in favor of the Italian government taking the initiative in coming to a permanent pacification. Such pronouncements seemed all the more significant as they were not repudiated by the Vatican. Moreover, they came in the wake of the Gentiloni Pact, which had been concluded a few weeks before, and which had made the participation of the Italian Catholics in the political life of their country once more possible.[15] Of course, the official paper of the Vatican, the *Osservatore Romano*,[16]

[12] Report Rome, Vatican, January 29, Nu. 2 C, 1914.

[13] Report Vatican, November 5, Nu. 40 B, 1912. The ambassador reported that the cardinal secretary made these remarks to "a diplomat at the Vatican."

[14] To Joseph Schmidlin, the historian of the popes in modern times; cf. his *Papstgeschichte der Neuesten Zeit* (München, 1936) III, 262, note 23.

[15] For the "Gentiloni Pact" cf. A. W. Salomone, *Italian Democracy in the Making* (Philadelphia, 1945), pp. 39 ff; A. C. Jemolo, *Chiesa e stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni* (s. l., 1948), p. 535 f.

[16] *Osservatore Romano*, January 3, 1914; *Times*, December 27, 1913. The Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America possesses the microfilms of the following years of the *Osservatore Romano:* 1849-52, 1861-66, 1872-1940, 1951-54.

was correct in stating, in criticism of an editorial of the London *Times*, that the Holy See did not identify itself with any of the solutions suggested, that what then mattered was "non di risolvere problemi, ma di studiarli." But Merry del Val himself admitted to the Austrian ambassador[17] that the Curia had an interest in having these problems discussed publicly. It should, he said, become evident that the Italian Catholics were in no way lacking in patriotism. Moreover, the Secretary of State himself volunteered a proposal, admitting at the same time that he did not know whether his suggestion was any better than those which had previously been made. Merry del Val's idea was that between the Pope and all the powers, Italy included, an agreement should be made to safeguard the liberty and the independence of the Holy See, and Italy would receive the mandate of the powers to protect and carry out that treaty. What a far cry from the attitude of the Rampollian era! The special position of the Kingdom of Italy should be explicitly recognized, albeit—contrary to the actual development that led to the Lateran compacts—Italy was, according to the concept of Merry del Val, to act as a mandatory of the powers.

When Prince Johann Schönburg, the Austrian Ambassador at the Vatican, pointed out to the Cardinal Secretary the novel and surprising character of the whole trend, Merry del Val replied by referring to a dictum of Leo XIII in 1889, to the effect that so far no other solution had been found than the restoration of the temporal power, but that "cela n'empêchait pas qu'on pouvait s'efforcer d'en chercher une."[18]

Our documentary evidence does not suggest that things proceeded any further under Pius X, and it is probable that, as the Prime Minister of Bavaria, Count Hertling observed, the saintly pontiff resigned such developments to divine Providence after he had experienced the opposition of Italian Masonry: "Deus providebit."[19] Certainly there were still intransigents on both sides, and two men who held so little in common as the integralist Cardinal De Lai and Sidney Sonnino, then still a member of the Chamber of Deputies,

[17] Report Vatican, December 18, 1913, Nu. 40 A.

[18] Report Vatican, December 31, 1913, Nu. 41 B. So far I have not succeeded in tracing the words of Leo XIII mentioned by the cardinal.

[19] Report Munich, April 5, 1916, Nu. 97; Päpstlicher Stuhl XIV.

the *deputato* of the article in the *Nuova Antologia,* were in agreement on that point, that a conciliation should not occur.[20]

When the news of the election of Benedict XV reached Vienna and Munich, both capitals were aware that the Pope of the internal ecclesiastical reforms had been succeeded by a statesman with diplomatic training. Prince Schönburg thought that, while Benedict would continue to keep strict neutrality, still the position the Danubian Monarchy held at the Vatican could be referred to as a "favored one *pro foro interno.*" But he added that it was a different matter for Germany in consequence of its occupation of neutral Belgium. The diplomat expressed fear that in the long run this circumstance might make itself felt also in the relations between the Vatican and Austria.[21] Still he voiced confidence that the new pontiff would always think and act within the realm of concrete political possibilities. In the eyes of Schönburg, such an attitude was based on the conviction that the interests of the Holy See and the Hapsburg Monarchy were identical at that moment,[22] a fact that Benedict XV himself admitted explicitly.[23] The ideas of the Pope, the ambassador insisted, had an added force because, since the ascent of Benedict to the throne "a unifying spirit (*ein einheitlicher Zug*) pervades the Vatican, a spirit for which one had been looking in vain previously."[24]

The Austrian reports referred repeatedly to the successes due to the consummate statesmanship of the new Pope. "I consider it my duty to call attention, time and again, to the fact that we must consider the Pope already today—and in an increasing way we will have to do it in the future—as a political factor of first rank in Europe, even in the whole world."[25] The ambassador praised specifically Benedict's success in keeping on excellent terms with Germany as

[20] Report Vatican, January 29, 1914, Nu. 2 C.

[21] According to report, February 1, 1915, Nu. 7, Botschaftsarchiv, Geheimakten 1904-15, Benedict told the ambassador: "Auch ich muss es sagen, das Recht ist auf Seiten Oesterreich-Ungarns. Aber ist dasselbe auch bezüglich Ihres Verbündeten der Fall, welcher das neutrale Belgien occupierte? . . ."

[22] Report Vatican, January 13, 1915; February 10, 1915; Botschaft beim Heiligen Stuhl, Geheime Akten 1904-15.

[23] Report Chiffre Vatican, January 30, Nu. 6 P, Botschaftsarchiv; Report March 2, 1915, Nu. 11.

[24] Report Vatican, October 21, 1914, Nu. 46 A.

[25] Report Vatican, May 4, 1915, Nu. 27; Botschaftsarchiv Heiliger Stuhl, Geheimakten 1904-15.

well as with Belgium. "At the basis of these achievements I see not so much an art, but rather distinct human qualities of high importance, as the Pontiff's strong sense of justice, his conviction of serving a great cause, the prudence of his judgment, and his perfect handling of men." Schönburg was also well aware that the political activity of Benedict did not halt at the doors of the Vatican. The Pope was in contact with statesmen and politicians of different parties, mainly with those who came from his native Genoa, or from Bologna where he had been archbishop. The Pontiff was also in contact with the royal family and he referred once to the queen mother. As one member of the papal household put it: "Since 1870 no Pope had such good relations with the Italian government circles as the present one."[26]

Benedict's remark on the identity of the interests of the Vatican and the Dual Monarchy included certainly the wish for Italy to continue the policy of neutrality in the world war. In order to attain this aim, dear to him for both spiritual and humanitarian reasons, and the realistic appreciation of the necessity "to protect his own house,"[27] the Pontiff displayed a restless activity during the first half year of his reign. It was a minor evidence of such identity of interests when Benedict remarked to Prince Schönburg early in the winter of 1915: "You would be compelled to leave Rome at the very day of Italy's declaring war."[28] Actually the diplomats of the Central Powers—Austria, Bavaria, Prussia—at the Holy See were induced to leave Rome on May 25, 1915, two days after Italy entered the war. The Pope, though in moderate terms, made a public complaint in the consistory of December 6 about the international situation having deteriorated through this reduction of the papal diplomatic

[26] Report Vatican, March 2, 1915, Nu. 11. Schönburg refers to a "reichsdeutscher Geheimkämmerer Sr. Heiligkeit" as having made the remark quoted in the text; this is probably Monsignor Rudolf Gerlach, listed in the *Annuario Pontificio* among the "camerieri segreti partecipanti"; Schönburg's reports mention Gerlach several times, cf. specially his letter St. Moritz, February 17, 1916. Gerlach was later involved in a strange espionage trial; cf. Hubert Bastgen, *Die Römische Frage* (Freiburg, 1919), III/2, 17 f. 47 ff. V. E. Orlando, *Su alcuni miei rapporti di governo con la Santa Sede. Note e ricordi* (Napoli, 1930) p. 63 refers to Baron Monti as having acted as an intermediator between the Pope and Orlando when the latter became Minister of Justice and Cult in November, 1914.

[27] Report Pálffy, January 16, 1916; Päpstlicher Stuhl XIV, Korrespondenz über eine definitive Neuordnung der Römischen Frage, 1915-1918.

[28] Report Vatican, February 1, 1915, Nu. 7.

corps.[29] The apprehensions of former years, that a participation of Italy in an international conflagration would greatly increase the difficulties of the Holy See, had now materialized. Benedict described his position as having become an impossible—a "desperate"[30]—one in several aspects.

Nonetheless, such considerations do not explain fully the negotiations which were entered upon on behalf of the Roman Question. This problem had become a matter of general concern since the spring of 1915, and it brought forth a large amount of literature from all sides. The negotiations of Benedict XV began as early as the fall of 1914. "If one would collect and put together all the threads," Count Pálffy, the Austrian chargé d'affaires, wrote in September, 1915, "which have been spun from St. Peter over the Tiber during the last year, one would form a rope capable of carrying a heavy weight."[31] The beginnings were very modest, but by the time of Italy's entry into the war, the Pope could already attempt to have an influence on political decisions of the government. The very exceptional conditions of the present moment would allow and explain exceptional steps. The Austrian diplomat was convinced that Benedict now wanted to clarify the position of the Vatican toward Italy in a permanent way; and the progress made seemed such that Pietro Gasparri, the Cardinal Secretary of State, was reported to have exclaimed: "Vi arriveremo a bandiere spiegate" (with colours unfurled we will arrive at our goal).[32]

The information received revealed that the plans of Benedict XV did not aim at winning back any territory, or at vindicating any material advantages, but rather at increasing and insuring his independence, his rights as sovereign, and as supreme teacher of the Church.

[29] *Osservatore Romano,* May 26, 27, 29, December 7, 1915. Prince Schönburg, the ambassador, carried on his duties in Lugano, Switzerland, but lived during that period also at different other places like Salzburg, on his estates in Bohemia, etc.; the chargé d'affaires, Count Moritz Pálffy, moved to Bern. The diplomatic activities of both were certainly much restricted through their absence from Rome.

[30] Report Chiffre, Vatican, January 30, 1915, Nu. 6 P.

[31] Report Bern, September 26, 1915, Nu. 7. ". . . so würde daraus ein Seil entstehen, dem zur Tragfähigkeit nicht mehr viel fehlt." The Pope did not think of King Victor Emanuel III as a strong character, Report Chiffre, January 30, 1915, Nu. 6 P, Botschaftsarchiv.

[32] Report Bern, September 26, 1915, Päpstlicher Stuhl XV.

Early in October Count Pálffy took up the question again. He was confident that Benedict XV wanted to bring the Roman Question to a solution in co-operation with Italy, and with Italy alone. The Pope knew that the Italian government no longer objected to the conciliation on principle—more than 20,000 Catholic priests had served in the national army since Italy had entered the war, a fact that was one more evidence that a normalization of the relations between Vatican and Quirinal was due. If this were the case—so Pálffy's argument ran—then a negotiation between the two partners without any interference from outside would be the safest road,[33] and the words of Cardinal Gasparri quoted above seemed to prove that the Holy See was confident of the result. Although German writers and politicians continued to clamor for the return of the temporal power, the Vatican had abandoned such claims.

One can well understand that the Austrian diplomat at this point would raise the question as to what the consequences of such an agreement would be for the Danubian Monarchy. Pálffy foresaw a threefold result for his empire. First, Austria would be deprived of the trump card of having been itself instrumental in bringing about the spectacular conciliation at which more than a generation had toiled; this loss would certainly result in a weakening of its position and prestige at the Roman Curia. Second, a pacification reached through negotiations between the Vatican and Italy alone would mean a further step in the Italianisation of the papacy, a danger of which Austria, Germany, and France alike had been apprehensive in recent years.[34] Finally, the result of the understanding insofar as Italy was concerned would be the formation of a great Catholic political party leading to the strengthening of the monarchical feeling throughout the peninsula, and thereby an increase of national power. In the eyes of Count Pálffy, all these consequences would run contrary to the interests of the Danubian Monarchy. "Thus such an understanding," he stated, "would not be agreeable to us from a political angle." Here the diplomat stopped; he did not consider himself entitled to elaborate on the consequences of his arguments. He thought himself at liberty, however, to indicate certain measures which might help to prevent an agreement being reached without Austria's participating in the negotiations. One of his schemes held little promise of

[33] Report Bern, October 5, 1915, Päpstlicher Stuhl XV.
[34] Cf. *supra*.

success, and the second one was definitely a piece of second-rate Machiavellianism. Small wonder that both were dismissed at the Ballhausplatz, where the decision was made to let things develop by themselves and not to interfere, in spite of Austria's strong interest in the problem.[35]

It was felt in Vienna that the Vatican kept Austria only vaguely informed about the negotiations with the Italian government, and that this was done on purpose. In the only official document in which Benedict XV had touched upon the Roman Question so far, viz., in the encyclical *Ad beatissimi* of November 1, 1914, the Pope had spoken with surprising moderation, much in contrast to the words his predecessors had used on similar occasions. Attention was also drawn to the interview the Secretary of State had granted the Catholic *Corriere d'Italia* in June, 1915, in which an equally moderate attitude had been taken by Cardinal Gasparri. All evidence seemed to point to a decision by the ruling Pontiff to bring about the solution of the problem in co-operation with, and not in contrast to, the Kingdom of Italy.[36] Nothing gave any indication that a restoration of the temporal power was still sought by the Vatican, a solution that could be brought about only through the arms of the victorious Central Powers, and, therefore, one dear to many of the German writers on the future position of the papacy. Cardinal Gasparri in the interview had stated explicitly that Benedict XV had put his hope not in foreign arms, but in the triumph of the sense of justice which he expected to spread more and more through the Italian nation.

In view of the existing conditions, Vienna thought that the negotiations between the Roman Curia and the Italian government might come to a positive conclusion within the relatively near future, and that the Law of Guarantees, in spite of its weaknesses which were open to amendment, could furnish a workable basis. But such an

[35] Offizielles Privatschreiben Baron Alexander Musulins an Graf Pálffy, October 26, 1915, Päpstlicher Stuhl XV.

[36] Memoire des Baron Leo Di Pauli betreffend die römische Frage und ihre wahrscheinliche Lösung, October 14, 1915, Päpstlicher Stuhl XV. An excerpt of the interview of the cardinal secretary with the *Corriere d'Italia*, June 28, 1915, is printed in Bastgen, *loc. cit.*, p. 112f; the sentence referred to in the text reads: ". . . la Santa Sede . . . aspettando la sistemazione conveniente della sua situazione non delle armi stranieri, ma del trionfo di quei sentimenti di giustizia, che augura si diffondano sempre più nel popolo italiano, in conformità del verace suo interesse."

agreement would hardly be the last word in the Roman Question. Vienna expected the Vatican to have that agreement finally protected by an international guarantee, probably at the time of the great international congress, which then was supposed to terminate the war. By the end of 1915 the Vatican declared officially: ". . . a national guarantee of Italy would not be sufficient."[37] It was assumed at the Ballhausplatz that such a plan would help the Pope to participate in the congress, and that the question of such participation was also under discussion in the negotiations with Italy. But—according to Vienna—as the Pope was to submit to the congress an agreement to which Italy had consented of its own free will, so he could not be expected to speak out against Italy at that international assembly. In spite of all ostensible benevolence toward the Central Powers, Benedict XV would rather make himself the advocate of specific Italian interests. The Austrian memorandum pointed to the intervention in favor of Italy in the question of whether Austria should offer the cession of the Trentino in order to keep its partner in the Triple Alliance out of the war;[38] this interference could serve as an example of what direction one could expect papal diplomacy to take in the future. And the Vatican would find support for its pro-Italian policy in Germany, which still was not at war with Italy, and where it was well known that there existed pro-Appenine sympathies. "Perhaps the moment will come when the Holy Father and Germany will give their protection to Italy, defeated by the Habsburg Monarchy." What an apocalyptic vision, which, however, failed to materialize!

The official answer of the Ballhausplatz to Pálffy[39] accepted in large measure the ideas of the memorandum. While emphasizing the threat of a complete "Italianisation" of the Curia, it stressed the great probability of the decisive agreements being made between Vatican

[37] Prince Schönburg, St. Moritz, February 17, 1916, Vatican, "Römische Frage."

[38] Prince Schönburg discussed this intervention of the pope in his "Chiffre Berichte," January 20, Nu. 4 P, and 30, Nu. 6 P, 1915. The intervention was made through the nuncio in Vienna. The ambassador assumed that the newly appointed German ambassador, Prince Bülow, had interfered with Benedict XV in this sense. Bülow's *Denkwürdigkeiten* (Berlin, 1931), III, 228 ff. make this assumption probable.

[39] Offizielles Privatschreiben Musulins, October 26, 1915, Päpstlicher Stuhl XV. The letter was submitted to the foreign minister, Baron Burian, who suggested minor changes.

and Quirinal directly. Yet the moment of the meeting of the international congress would present Austria with the opportunity to say its word on this problem, always presuming—the document went on—that "the kingdom of Italy would then still exist, and the Central Powers would have won the victory."

Archbishop Francesco Marchetti-Selvaggiani, who apparently at that time was the diplomatic agent of the Holy See at Bern, informed Count Pálffy a week later that Cardinal Gasparri denied categorically that the Holy See had entered upon negotiations with the Italian government; the Austrian diplomat did not feel sure how much this *dementi* actually covered or was intended to cover.[40] Then for several months the reports about negotiations on behalf of the Roman Question came to a pause, which can easily be explained. At this time—and not as it is generally assumed through the publication of the successful Russian revolutionists—the Vatican learned of the clause in the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915, according to which Great Britain and France promised Italy support in preventing the Holy See from taking diplomatic steps for the conclusion of peace.[41] As is well known, this promise was a part of the price the Appenine kingdom obtained for entering the war on the side of the powers of the Triple Entente. The news was given publicity in a Swiss Catholic newspaper, the *Neue Züricher Nachrichten*, and raised widespread comments. It must have come as an unpleasant surprise to the Vatican, which already had given proofs of its pro-Italian attitude, an attitude that it was apparently willing to continue, although the political minds in the Curia must have been aware of the strength of the anti-Catholic groups in Italy. The attitude taken by the Italian government at the decisive moment of the Treaty of London did not, therefore, make the outlook for the success of direct negotiations between Vatican and Quirinal a bright one.

[40] Pálffy to Baron Burian, Bern, November 3, 1915, Päpstlicher Stuhl XV. On June 1, 1919, a conversation took place between Orlando and Archbishop Bonaventura Cerretti concerning a treaty between the Vatican and Quirinal on terms similar to those of the Lateran compacts of February, 1929. 'Be careful,' said Orlando, 'if the slightest indiscretion occurs, I shall deny everything and declare never to have met you.' 'I shall do the same,' "I answered." From the diaries of Cerretti published in Orlando, *loc. cit.*, p. 95.

[41] Pálffy, Bern, January 16, 1916, Päpstlicher Stuhl XIV. The diplomat reported that the news according to reliable information reached the Vatican on December 24, 1915. The publication of the text of article XV of the treaty was made by *Pravda*, November 28, 1917, cf. Bastgen, *loc. cit.* III/2, 16 f.

Nevertheless, the Austrian diplomats continued in their efforts to find out about the plans of the Pope on the Roman Question, and even to provoke some authentic statement about them. Prince Schönburg, reviewing the schemes discussed in Germany for an enlargement of the pontifical territory, dismissed them all as unsatisfactory.[42] "In peace time one does not need it," he said, "in war time it does not help." In his effort to think of a workable concept he recalled a saying of the nuncio in Vienna, Raphael Cardinal Scapinelli, according to which the Pope still held a territory completely as a sovereign, viz., the Vatican, which he possessed, not on the basis of the Italian Law of Guarantees which he had never recognized, but on the basis of the ancient donation. The situation of the Pontiff, according to Scapinelli, was as though the adversaries had surrounded him and driven him back into the last remnant of his old dominion; but there he still held out.

The ambassador took up the nuncio's remark as his starting point: Italy should recognize that principle—at least in the future—the principle of the Pope's full sovereignty over the Vatican territory, and the recognition by Italy would involve the recognition of the whole world. As a necessary consequence of it, the Pope would participate in the peace congress. No explicit international guarantee was required, to which Italy would always object, and which furthermore was open to misuse by one of the guarantors to the detriment of true papal independence. Prince Schönburg assumed that a situation built on the basis outlined by him might be considered acceptable in normal times until an opportunity should present itself to make a more radical change for the better; to think of a workable guarantee for the Pope in time of war was a very difficult task. In presenting this concept the ambassador was aware that he submitted only his personal suggestions.

Two weeks later Count Pálffy returned to the discussion of the Roman Question.[43] He began by pointing to the great amount of

[42] St. Moritz, February 17, 1916, with an appendix of the ambassador's letter to Monsignor Gerlach, January 23, 1916, Vatican, "Römische Frage." Orlando, *loc. cit.*, pp. 42 ff, refers to the German literature on the Roman Question as an "esperienza di laboratorio" on how a "victorious Germany" planned to "punish Italy," ". . . di rifare, a beneficio della Germania, una specie di Papato avignonese."

[43] Bern, March 7, 1916, Nu. 23. "Die römische Frage betreffend," Päpstlicher Stuhl XV. On the large literature on the Roman Question—"una campagna

literature which had come forth on this topic since Italy's entry into the war. Unity of plans was to be found only on the part of the adversaries of the Church, while her supporters were badly split. The fact that Benedict XV himself apparently had not reached a decision was probably instrumental in bringing about this situation. The Catholics did not consider themselves entitled to rush ahead of their spiritual head on such an important issue. Nevertheless, the diplomat stressed the considerable progress made under the new pontiff. Pius X had taken the attitude that "Divine Providence alone" would bring a change, and "as Divine Providence did not take action in this respect, everything remained as before." Benedict was more realistic than his predecessor, and he gave the impression of having adopted the maxim, "help yourself and God will come to your aid." Pálffy found evidence for this assumption in the papal allocution delivered in the consistory of December 6, 1915, in which the Roman Question was declared a topic open to public discussion. Furthermore, the inspiration of a number of articles, some of which were published in the Catholic Swiss paper *Neue Züricher Nachrichten*, could be traced to the Vatican. The Curia had changed its attitude and had now taken the initiative itself.

Our last document concerning the Roman Question dates from the summer of 1916.[44] Again Count Pálffy lamented that still no really satisfactory project had been produced by the Catholics; yet he admitted that at the moment not more than a relatively good solution could be hoped for. He thought that probably the best one under existing circumstances would be based on a direct understanding between the Holy See and the Italian government. Under that assumption the diplomat thought that the Vatican could not wish for a prolongation of the public discussion of the Roman Question in newspapers and pamphlets. As a matter of fact, Benedict XV had let it be known that he expected the Catholics to stop that controversy,[45] a decision somewhat in contrast to Schönburg's interpretation of the papal allocution of December of the previous year. Like his ambassador, so also the chargé d'affaires, expected the Curia to come out with a statement of its attitude on the Roman problem.

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mondiale"—since May, 1915, and its character, cf. also E. Vercesi, *Tre Papi* (Milano, 1929) p. 275.

[44] Pálffy, Bern, August 25, 1916, Nu. 62 B, Päpstlicher Stuhl XV.

[45] Report München, November 19, 1915, Nu. 324 P, Päpstlicher Stuhl XIV.

Meanwhile a committee composed of Swiss Catholics had been formed to prepare public opinion for such a papal declaration. It was planned to expand this activity to Spain, the Netherlands, the two other neutrals with a large Catholic population, and later even to America. Pálffy voiced scepticism as to the results of this scheming. The only useful result he could foresee would be to provoke the Holy See to make public its own concepts, but apparently no such reaction resulted.

It has been reported—though not fully ascertained—that the last words of Benedict XV, when he was dying in early February, 1922, related to the Roman Question. He is said to have referred to the reconciliation of the Vatican with Italy as being his greatest desire, and expressed the hope that his successor would live to see its realization.[46] The Austrian documents discussed in this study do not contradict the assumption that what remained—within the human realm—the greatest desire of the dying Pope occupied a large part of his thought and activities during the beginnings of his pontificate in the midst of a world war.

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[46] Cf. Schmidlin, *loc. cit.*, p. 263; Friedrich von Lama, *Papst und Kurie in ihrer Politik nach dem Weltkrieg* (Illertissen, 1925), p. 32.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt. By H. Idris Bell. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. x, 117. $4.75.)

This volume contains four lectures given at the University of Liverpool in February, 1952. Its author has been the keeper of manuscripts and Edgerton Librarian at the British Museum since 1929 and the author of a series of learned books including Volumes III, IV, and V of the *Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the British Museum.* His four lectures are entitled: The Pagan Amalgam, The Jews in Egypt, The Preparation for Christianity, and The Christian Triumph. In these he discusses the competing rival beliefs as found among the indigenous population of Egypt, the Greek and Jewish settlers in Egypt, the Neo-Platonists and Gnostics, also the religious notions reflected in the Hermetic teachings and in popular superstitions, and the beliefs held by the rising Christian Church, by the dissenting Arians and Monophysites, and by the adherents of Mithraism and Manichaeism. While these areas of historical interest have been explored by many other learned authors, they are examined here by the Nestor of present-day papyrologists, and that chiefly in the light of the immense number of papyrus documents dating from Graeco-Roman times, which have been dug up from the sands of Egypt mostly during the past century.

It is worth remembering here that, while thousands of papyrus documents have been found and preserved in the dry sands of Middle and Upper Egypt, none has been discovered in the often flooded Delta region of Lower Egypt, with a resulting silence of documents regarding that particular area where Egyptian Christianity had its birth. In areas of investigation where extant documents shed no light, answers have been found in conjectures and conclusions put forth by other authors. Thus the view is accepted that the tradition regarding St. Mark's bringing the gospel to Egypt must be considered as "extremely doubtful," since no one before Epiphanius in the fourth century is known to us today to have recorded that tradition. Likewise the conjecture is put forth that the monotheism of Akhenaten may well have played some part in the development of Jewish monotheism. The fact is cited that "some have seen in the 104th Psalm the influence of Akhenaten's *Hymn to the Aten*" (the disk of the sun). The resemblance between the third section of *Proverbs* and *The Teaching of Amenophis* is held to be such as to make the inference certain and irresistible that almost the whole of the former was ultimately derived

from the latter. It is suggested that some such Egyptian tale as that of Si-Osiri, contained in a British Museum Demotic papyrus, may have been in the back of Christ's mind when He told the parable of the rich man and Lazarus; that the Thracian god Heron may have been the model for Saints Michael and George, Horus-Harpocrates trampling on the crocodile the model for St. Michael slaying the dragon, and Isis and Harpocrates the model for the Blessed Virgin and the Child. Of the *Corpus Hermeticum* the author believes that, though it accepted the whole of the pagan Pantheon, it was thoroughly monotheistic and expressed a genuine piety, a craving for the knowledge of God, union with God, and immortality, and, therefore, helped to pave the way for the teachings of Christianity. The ultimate survival and triumph of Christianity was, according to the author, no accident but the consequence of great theoretical and practical advantages possessed by Christianity over all its rivals. These were its two fundamental doctrines of the Incarnation and the atonement and the two cardinal Christian virtues of humility and love. These held a powerful appeal for a humanity that had become deeply conscious of the evils in and around it and of its need to be freed of them.

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The Apostolic Succession in the First Two Centuries of the Church. By Arnold Ehrhardt. (London: Lutterworth Press. 1953. Pp. 168. 16s.)

Let it be said at the outset that we have here a valuable and competent essay of historical analysis. The author, lecturer in law at several German universities until dismissed by the Nazi regime, went to England in the late 1930's where he was ordained in the Anglican ministry. He writes, therefore, as an Anglican, interested in the problem of apostolic succession, using the tools of scholarly research with German efficiency. This may account for what seems the chief weakness of the volume: a too exclusive preference for German and English references, to the neglect of the considerable early patristic work that has recently appeared in French.

Since it is generally conceded that the idea of apostolic succession of Christian bishops was clearly taught and acted upon by the end of the second century, Dr. Ehrhardt sets himself the task of investigating the evidence of the apostolic and sub-apostolic ages, thereby supplementing what was inadequately done in the symposium, *The Apostolic Ministry*, edited in 1946 by Dr. Kirk, Bishop of Oxford. Of major interest is his thesis that the early succession lists derive from a Jewish-Christian concern to establish a Christian "succession" to the list of Jewish post-exilic high priests. This, in turn, argues, according to Ehrhardt, the acceptance

in early circles of the primacy of James, as Bishop of Jerusalem, over Peter and the other apostles. The recent work of Oscar Cullmann, *Petrus*, on this very subject, and the several important Catholic answers it evoked, unfortunately appeared too late to be consulted by our author. At all events, Irenaeus' treatment of the high priests-apostles relationship as "representation" (foreshadowing) rather than "succession" corresponds more nearly to the general thinking of earliest Christian times.

The entire question of "presbyters" and "bishops" in the first generation remains, of course, a knotty problem, not made any easier by the exceptional discipline apparently obtaining in Egypt until the accession of Heracles (231-246) (cf. Telfer's careful study in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, April, 1952). But it should not be overlooked that already Ignatius of Antioch, besides stressing the cardinal importance of monepiscopacy, and taking it for granted in the churches of Asia Minor to which he writes, explicitly presupposes it "throughout the world" (*Eph.* III, 2). And though he does not in so many words speak of apostolic succession, his multiple comparisons of the bishop to Christ imply the principle that Clement had earlier stated so emphatically (*I Clem.* 42-44). Similarly, it is scarcely adequate to limit scriptural evidence of aposotlic succession to several references in the pastoral epistles of Paul. Christ's special training of the apostles, and His solemn commission accompanied by the promise, "I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world" (*Matt.* 28:18-20), are inexplicable except in view of a succession of apostolic power. In other words, there is considerably more evidence than the author himself allows before Irenaeus' famous formulation of the doctrine (*Adv. Haer.* III, 3).

Dr. Ehrhardt's study of the prophetic and other extra-regular (charismatic) "ministries" in Chapter IV does much to clear up an area badly obscured by those who reject the institutional character of the early Church: "in so far as they (the prophetic etc., offices) were part of normal Church life, it cannot be proved that their holders ever performed normal ministerial functions" (p. 99). His explanation, in this context, of Hippolytus' well known statement about the "confessors" (*Apostolic Tradition*, 4), is convincing.

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Patrology. By Johannes Quasten. Volume II: *The Ante-Nicene Literature after Irenaeus*. (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press; Utrech-Antwerp: Spectrum Publishers. 1953. Pp. xi, 450. $5.50.)

Perhaps the highest tribute which can be paid Dr. Quasten's work is the observation that it seems destined to supplant Altaner's *Patrologie*

(3rd ed., Freiburg, 1951) as our standard reference tool. Both the first volume (1950), describing Christian non-canonical literature from its beginnings to St. Irenaeus, and now this study, taking the story from the close of the second to the commencement of the fourth century, demonstrate a master's knowledge of the texts and their critical problems and of current research as well. Thus, pages 62-64 of the volume here reviewed present the first treatment in English of Origen's *Discussion with Heraclides*, the text whereof became available in 1949, while pages 166 and 169 take cognizance of views upon St. Hippolytus expressed by Nautin as recently as 1952. Vast, indeed, is recent patristic literature, and constantly expanding. Hardly has Dr. Quasten here given us (pp. 352-353) an excellent brief review, running through 1952, of opinions touching the fourth chapter of St. Cyprian's *De unitate*, than J. Le Moyne, "Saint Cyprien est-il bien l'auteur de la rédaction brève du 'Du Unitate' chapitre 4?", *Revue Bénédictine*, LXIII (1953), 70-115, reopens the question by suggesting that the primacy text is due to some African admirer of the Bishop of Carthage (Optatus of Mileve?), rather than to Cyprian himself.

This present study follows a geographic scheme and a chronological pattern within that scheme. It opens with Pantaenus and the subsequent Alexandrian writers, then proceeds with the authors of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine, with the Romans, the Africans, and, finally, with the other writers of the West (Victorinus of Pettau and Reticius of Autun). What is said about the life of each author is always adequate, but the emphasis is wisely upon the man's doctrine seen not in isolation but against the patristic background. Father Quasten weaves into his account quotations from his subjects, so that the reader gets the taste of the texts for himself. Thus, a passage from Origen on the apostolic practice of child baptism provides something of the thrill of personal discovery (p. 83). Then, too, critical questions are nicely introduced as, e.g., the remarks on the *Pontifex Maximus* of Tertullian's *De pudicitia* (pp. 234-235, 313) (Agrippinus of Carthage is opted for)—with the result that even the non-specialist comes to know of the important problems.

The present reviewer trusts he will not be thought censorious of an outstanding treatise if he observes that the making of St. Hippolytus the first anti-pope (p. 164) runs contrary to what is related in Eusebius' *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, 28, 10, concerning the anti-pope Natalius prior to Hippolytus. Dr. Quasten likewise seems to share the widespread view that penance in the early Church was available but once after baptism (pp. 32, 299). The difficulty in such an interpretation has been noted by Ludwig Hertling, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche* (Berlin, 1949), p. 28. Among the studies treating the *Institutum Neronianum* listed on page 264, place should have been found for Attilio Profumo, *Le fonti ed i tempi*

dello incendio Neroniano (Rome, 1905), pp. 197-251, whose singularly penetrating analysis has been too often overlooked. And note might have been made that the catalogue of heresies appended to Tertullian's *De praescriptione* (cf. pp. 272, 412-413) appears in English in Robert M. Grant, *Second-Century Christianity* (London, 1946), pp. 123-141.

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Ireland of the Saints. By D. D. C. Pochin Mould. (London: B. T. Batsford; New York: British Book Centre. 1954. Pp. 176. $4.50.)

This is the sort of book the specialist likes to see in the layman's hand. The author has not only a sound knowledge of her subject but, what is more, a deep human understanding of its implications. Dr. Pochin Mould does not dogmatize where judgment is still suspended, and yet she manages to give a straightforward and very readable account of almost everything about which we are reasonably sure. Occasionally the story is enlivened by the telling of a legend; we get it for what it is worth, and we would not like to miss it. Every page of this book proves how deeply its author has penetrated into the spirit of Irish Christianity, ancient as well as modern. The scene is laid in a sketch of Irish pre-history and early history. We then hear about such subjects as Ireland's earliest contacts with Christendom, Palladius and Patrick, Irish monasticism, Ireland's saints and scholars at home and abroad, the Norse invasions, and the reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The last three chapters are devoted to Irish ecclesiastical architecture, Celtic art, and Irish religious romances.

If Dr. Pochin Mould has not always gone back to the primary sources, her account of every aspect of Irish religious history is based on the most competent works available. The select bibliography at the end is a valuable guide to more detailed study. Personally, I would have included another half dozen references (two-thirds of the last page are blank!) e.g., J. B. Bury's *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland* (1905), T. F. O'Rahilly's *The Two Patricks* (1942), and some of the pioneer work of Father Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., on Irish ecclesiastical history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

It is only a small number of details that the professional historian would challenge. The remark that a *decurio* in a Roman provincial town was "otherwise," i.e., unless he became a cleric, "automatically a member of

the municipal corporation" (p. 34) is likely to give a false impression. The hymn *Sancti venite* is connected with Secundinus (pp. 40, 76) only in the late Leabhar Breacc preface to *Audite omnes*. To say that the *Cathach* is a Vulgate MS is inaccurate; it is our earliest witness of the "Gallican" Psalter, which came to be the version that was included in the Carolingian Vulgate bibles, but our earliest complete "Vulgate" bible, Codex Amiatinus, has as its Psalter the *Psalterium secundum Hebraeos*. "Austria" should be read "Austrasia" (p. 92); Theowulf of Orleans (p. 101) must be a misprint; read "double leaves" for "double pages" (p. 147). The repeated *Celi Dei* for *Céli Dé* (Culdees) is strange (p. 109 ff.). The reference to plate 52 (Lough Derg) is erroneous (p. 158); the picture represents Lough Derg on the Shannon, not Lough Derg in Donegal. The story of St. Patrick's fish (pp. 167 f.) is set during the saint's (legendary) stay with St. Martin at Tours, not, as the author says, during Patrick's Irish captivity. In the chapter on Ireland's conversion to Christianity I would have liked to see some reference to the questions raised by the late T. F. O'Rahilly. Even the "general reader" ought to be told at least that there is a problem.

These are some points that might be considered in a second edition, for which, we hope, the time will come soon. The book is splendidly illustrated with photos of historical sites, works of Celtic art, and pages from Irish manuscripts. These photos are more than an adornment; they really illustrate the text.

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The Mediaeval Church. By Marshall W. Baldwin. [The Development of Western Civilization. Narrative Essays in the History of Our Tradition from the Time of the Ancient Greeks and Hebrews to the Present, edited by Edward W. Fox.] (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 124. $1.25.)

This concise but thorough essay is one in a series of narrative studies offered in the introductory history survey course at the College of Arts and Science of Cornell University. The series is divided into two parts, each intended to cover a semester's work. The first part concerns itself with the history of civilization from its origins to the eve of the French Revolution; the second section deals with the French Revolution to the present day. It is the editor's opinion that equal space should be given to both parts, so unequally balanced in time, because recent experience must be considered more carefully and in greater detail to contribute more

effectively to an understanding of the contemporary world. Mediaevalists especially will take opposition to this decision in that it places too much emphasis on the importance of modern history to the detriment of the role played by Roman and mediaeval history in the formation of our civilization.

Since the series covers such a vast area of time, the editor wisely decided to assign the various narratives to scholars competent in the specific periods of history. By so doing each contributor can give the specialist's insight into a given study, an advantage not found in the usual survey texts where two or three authors attempt to write the history of some twenty-five centuries.

In asking Professor Baldwin to write *The Mediaeval Church*, the editor evinced excellent judgment. Anyone acquainted with his *Organization of Mediaeval Christianity* will recognize his competency in this field of history. A similar high degree of scholarship and understanding is found in the volume under review. Although Mr. Baldwin discusses the Church in relation to the political life of the Middle Ages, more emphasis is given to the Church as all-pervasive of mediaeval life itself. The author correctly points out that too many modern historians overemphasize the external history of the Church and its dealings with secular states. Recognizing that this aspect constitutes an essential part of the history of the Church, the author rightly proceeds on the basis of the truth that this is not the most important element in the mission of the Church. It must be understood that the Church is primarily and factually a spiritual society. In appreciating and understanding its place in history, all other aspects must be judged in relation to this. The author points out that this is especially important to keep in mind in discussing the purely secular history of the Church. Because of a misunderstanding of its spiritual mission, the terms "triumph" and "decline" can easily be misleading. For instance, a pope emerging "victorious" from a dispute may gain no spiritual victory for the Church, just as a political defeat could be a spiritual triumph.

One of the best chapters in this work is that in which the internal organization of the Church is discussed. It has been the experience of this reviewer that this subject is given insufficient treatment in other survey texts. In this chapter Mr. Baldwin treats clearly and concisely such topics as the functions of the papal monarchy, the development of canon law, and the purpose of the various offices in the papal curia.

In an essay of so broad a scope there is always the difficulty of deciding the relative importance of events and institutions. The specialist will feel slighted that his specific field has not been fairly or fully treated. This can easily happen if the reader fails to realize the purpose of this essay: to acquaint the college student with a survey of mediaeval Church history.

For instance, the life of St. Francis and the history of the Franciscan Order are related in a page and a half! Yet the treatment fits smoothly into the narrative and covers the high points in Franciscan history. For further reading on the various topics the student may turn to the select bibliography where there is a short list of books according to subject matter.

It is the opinion of this reviewer that this series will prove too lengthy for a text in a year's college survey course. It seems that the editor is attempting to present too much. The result may be that the professor will not be able to cover the assigned matter in the classroom, thereby leaving important matter to be read by the student. The series should serve excellently as collateral reading to a text of a more outlined nature.

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The Reformation in England. Volume II. *Religio depopulata.* By Philip Hughes. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1954. Pp. 366. $7.50.)

One of the most stimulating problems in the study of history is the appreciation of causes, i.e., which was of primary, of secondary, or of tertiary importance. In the story of Christ's rejection on Calvary, scholars still probe for the primary and the secondary causes: was the treason of the trusted Judas of prime importance, or was it the hidden hostility of the official custodians of religion? Was it the wayward pride of the lawyers and scribes, or was it the ignorant power of the Roman government? In the story of the rejection of Christ's Church in England in the sixteenth century Father Hughes in this second volume of his projected three-volume history of the Protestant Revolt in England implies that the official custodians of the true Christian faith in England in the sixteenth century were chiefly responsible for the "religio depopulata." The lawyers, politicians, and businessmen were of secondary importance before 1559. "The new thing of 1559, the Elizabethan settlement was neither the Catholicism of Mary's reign nor the Protestantism of Edward VI's; clerics, even the highest, had this time far less share in the 'settling'."

In the first part of this book, Father Hughes addresses himself almost exclusively to the activities of the rival groups of ecclesiastics under Cranmer and Gardiner during the last years of Henry VIII (1540-1547). In the second part, Cranmer and his imported henchmen from Protestant Europe are described in detail as they work with pen, pulpit, and parliament to destroy Catholicism and to build Protestantism in England. The unstable foundation that they laid appears in the third part when the

truly noble efforts of Queen Mary to restore the old faith are set forth. For a fuller understanding of this part of the book, one should read Miss H. F. M. Prescott's *Mary Tudor* (New York, 1953). As the well-intentioned plans of Mary come to naught in the fumbling hands of Gardiner and Bonner, while Reginald Pole—the only man who could have saved the situation—is held off until it is too late, the awful tragedy of it all appears clearly. Fittingly we might almost say, the curtain goes down on a confused and confusing stage—the Protestant exiles in Germany wrangling with each other and the Catholics in the Rome of Paul IV chagrined.

What Bishop Beck of Brentwood wrote of Father Hughes' first volume on the Reformation in England applies equally to this volume. He said, "It is not too much to say that among studies of the Reformation in England it will stand in a class by itself." And that, even remembering and contrasting it with the plethora of works on this subject—Gairdner, Fisher, Dixon, and Pollard pre-eminently, and the minor moderns like Constant, Maynard, Smith, and Baskerville, and the most recent Williamson. The reasons why this study of the "religio depopulata" will stand in a class by itself are many. The author builds his story by observing the strictest rules of criticism as laid down by the Louvain school; he writes in an easy and readable style, and he brings to his judgment of the various problems that arise the mind of a trained theologian. All these characteristics are evident on every page.

As for the rules of criticism, the substance of the work rests directly upon primary sources—"The ten articles devised (1536) by the Kinges Highnes Majestie," "the Bishop's Book of August 1537," the statute of the Six Articles enacted in June 1539, "the King's Book published in May 1543." For names, dates, and statistics the *Acts of the Privy Council*, the *Wriothesly Chronicle*, and numerous letters and sermons written by or about the important men of the age, and these documents are always quoted from the best available editions. Equal to the author's effective use of his sources is his criticism, usually appended in full footnotes. Thus when he introduces Wriothesly's chronicle for the first time, he remarks: "Charles Wriothesly, born 1508, was the son of Sir Thomas Wriothesly, who was Garter King of Arms 1505-1534. The son who became Windsor Herald in 1534 was a protege of Lord Chancellor Audley; and Audley's successor, Wriothesly, was seemingly his cousin. Charles Wriothesly's sympathies were with the reformers." Or better, when he detects a slip of judgment in such an authority as Pollard, the reader is given informative notes such as, "Wriothesly or Southampton is 'a convinced Catholic' for Pollard, seemingly because 'he with Rich had been unpleasantly prominent in the persecution of Anne Askew'." That Southampton was a constant opponent of the old Lollard ideas, and the new German theories,

did not, of course, suffice to make him a Catholic, any more than it sufficed to prove the Catholicism of that other anti-papal tool of Henry VIII, Sir Richard Rich, the prosecutor (as solicitor-general) of SS. John Fisher and Thomas More. Can anyone conceive that More would have described either of these men as "a convinced Catholic"? (n p. 81).

Father Hughes' critical ability is at its best in his twenty-page exposé of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (pp. 254-274). Out of his own mouth, as well as out of the mouths of some of his biographers, he damns Foxe's work as "very simply, a mighty piece of anti-Catholic propaganda." Hughes the theologian appears to the best advantage in his discussion of the various degrees of heresy that appear in the official articles and books published under Henry VIII; but almost equally as well in his criticism of Bonner's *A profitable and necessary doctrine for every Christian man* (pp. 243 ff.). The author's correct theological sense appears magnificently in his refusal to be impressed so much by sixteenth-century cruelty as an explanation of the barbarous executions of the Marian martyrs, as by the brazen duplicity of the erstwhile apostates who judged them. As Father Hughes says:

> It is surely monstrous, on the face of it, to consider as "formal heretics" these peasants and workpeople, won over—often before their years of maturity—to their new beliefs, in an age of doctrinal confusion, at a time when the whole body of the nation had abandoned the Catholic Church: a doctrinal confusion whose primary cause, indeed, was a "clergy lacking the grace to stand constantly to their learning" and bishops who, in cowardice, easily led all the rest. And what of the scandal when it is these very real, one-time apostates—men, that is, who acted with full knowledge of what they were doing—who now sit in judgment on unfortunates largely led into error by their simple belief in the apostates' sincerity?

It is difficult to read such lines without feeling with the author a sense of indignation and righteous wrath.

The format of this book also leaves nothing to be desired. There is a full and very clear table of contents that guides the reader directly to any idea he might wish to review in the text; however, to find what he might want in the equally interesting footnotes, he must depend more on his memory. The very abundant illustrations are most appropriate to bring the history of the period vividly to life. This work is a terrifying indictment of laxity, neglect, and ignorance within the Catholic Church in sixteenth-century England. The whole awful picture comes out much clearer here from the documents than it did from the pens of many others who wrote and drew much from prejudice. The mere reading of the volume should be a powerful stimulus for us to apprize to the full the pearl of great price which we have—but yet could lose.

CARL R. STEINBICKER

Mount Saint Mary of the West Seminary

Tudor Prelates and Politics: 1536-1558. By Lacey Baldwin Smith. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. viii, 333. $5.00.)

Our first remark about this interesting work must be that its author is overly concerned with his thesis, viz., that the careers of the "conservative" bishops of Henry VIII's time are an unusually dramatic example of the way in which "progressive conservatism can degenerate into reaction"; and that these prelates fought the introduction of the new theologies because they were men "who placed political reality before religious idealism and who considered social security more essential than doctrinal purity" (p. 220); that what alone, in fact, interested these bishops in the nascent Protestant movement was its promise—or threat—of social revolution (p. 105). The author makes no allowance for the possibility that—rightly or wrongly—these bishops may really have believed that the new doctrines about the way of salvation were pernicious nonsense because, in themselves, a perversion of revealed truth. One reason, perhaps, for this extraordinary oversight is the author's way of writing as though the only bishops at all learned in theology were those who sympathized with the new views, as though the "canonist bishops" were mere canonists. Cuthbert Tunstall's well known warning to Wolsey about Tyndale's *New Testament*, or Stephen Gardiner's controversy about justification with Cranmer, should have been a preservative against such an error.

When considerations that are not historical at all can so influence the author that he can expect us to take for granted his own assumption, that the test of religious idealism is the bishop's sympathy with the new Reformation theology, we shall be even more inclined to question his suitability for the delicate tasks that await an historian of the Reformation in England. That great conflict was, of course, in part, a conflict between rival, mutually exclusive idealisms, and to this fact is due one of the troubles the historian must meet, viz., that to this day we are still, the most of us, passionate partisans once the quick of the story is reached. Nor does it help matters, when the propounder of these theses shows himself to be unfamiliar with the kind of thing which that religion was in which all the prelates were bred who are the subjects of his study. If only for the sake of historical accuracy, and in order to make sense of the tale of these bygone happenings, and whatever his own judgment of the merits of the matter, the historian of the Reformation must consent to turn theologian—to this extent, at any rate, that he knows the meaning of the technical terms, uses them correctly, and grasps the point at issue. Otherwise, what else but chaos, a babble o' green fields, awaits the chronicler?

A more particular fault to which we would draw attention is the arbitrary dating of the subject. True it is that we cannot eternally begin our books at the first beginning of all. We must all submit to the common

necessity that our first words tear the seamless web. But, by 1536 the leaven of the new theologies had been active in England for the best part of twenty years, and the general action, toward the movement, of the new bishops is surely an essential part of the story. The bishops who happened to die before the author's opening date are not, thereby, to be ruled out as of no account in the problem he is studying. Especially when one of them is John Fisher, of all Tudor prelates one of the most interesting to their *ex professo* historian: as a humanist one of the princes, a professional theologian of high merit with his place in the international debate about salvation, a religious idealist indeed, a very model of episcopal devotion, and a mystic to boot! To leave out of consideration a figure such as this, simply because by six months he fails to survive into the author's period, must shake one's confidence in the reality of the author's thesis; must strengthen the doubt whether his learned book—the fruit, undoubtedly, of vast, industrious, pioneer research—is not really concerned to solve a problem constructed by the author himself, rather than one which exists in the very events.

The Tudor prelates with whom Dr. Smith is concerned are the sixty-four bishops he lists who, during the years 1536-1558, ruled the sees of England and Wales. It is their careers that are the raw material of his study. Nineteen of these prelates were appointed in the five years of the Marian restoration; eight in the six years of King Edward VI; twenty-seven during the twelve and a half years King Henry VIII functioned as supreme head; and ten were appointed by various popes in the years before the revolution of 1536. Of this last group one alone, Cranmer, is classed by the author as an idealist. In the ranks of the bishops appointed by the king acting as supreme head these sympathizers with the new theology are more numerous: nine of Henry VIII's twenty-seven (with another six whom Dr. Smith classes as "doubtful") and the totality of Edward VI's eight. There is an interesting difference, to which attention might here be drawn, between these Henrician and Edwardian appointments. While all but three of these fifteen Henricians were ex-religious, as well as four out of the eight Edwardians, these last had no claim on the royal attention save their zeal in the cause of the new doctrines. But of the twelve religious whom Henry VIII promoted to the episcopate all but one were ex-dignitaries, whose promotion saved the crown the pension earned by their co-operation in the suppression of the monasteries. Of no single one of these could it be said that he was an apostle in the sense in which this is true of, say, Latimer or Hooper or Ridley or Coverdale.

Mention of these numerous monastic nonentities invites the comment that far too high a proportion of Dr. Smith's sixty-four bishops are too little known for any real systematization of knowledge about them to be

possible. They are, for the most part, mere shadows and silhouettes thrown on the screen for no more than an occasional fleeting moment. And the author's attempts to add the missing dimension by picturesque supposition and description through the terminology of our own age only emphasizes the, literally, superficial character of what knowledge we possess about these personages, even after all the toil of research. Of only a bare half dozen do we know anything that really matters regarding their episcopal activities, or their personal effect upon the progress of the religious revolution. And, until some scholar comes forward to begin the exploration of what was actually taught in the theological schools of Oxford and Cambridge in the fifty years before Luther set the world on fire, we shall need to confess that about the formation of these bishops' minds we are, also, necessarily ignorant. The mere repetition of the well known gibes of Erasmus about contemporary scholastics, or general talk of *via antiqua* and *via moderna* is less than useless, and the careful classification of the prelates according to academic degrees sterile.

In this review the usual order of praise and blame has been deliberately reversed. It is a pleasure to turn from the fault-finding to congratulate the author on his courage in tackling as a pioneer, a most important and curiously neglected part of the complex Reformation problem. The bishops are the very heart of that problem. And Dr. Smith has made a vigorous attempt to tell the whole story of clerical high life as a corporate thing, in the universities first of all and then in the high places of the state, and in the intellectual life of the time. His readers will find themselves singularly stimulated.

PHILIP HUGHES

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Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, 1583-1656. By Geoffrey Ingle Soden. (London. S.P.C.K. 1953. Pp. xiii, 511. 42/-).

Bishop Godfrey Goodman has always been of interest to Catholics as the only Anglican bishop who is reputed to have died in communion with Rome—after a death bed, or near death bed, reconciliation. Dr. Soden's full examination of the evidence seems to show with reasonable cogency the unlikelihood of a formal reception having actually taken place, whatever may have been the bishop's final state of mind, or other people's estimate of it. The matter is no doubt of more interest now to Goodman himself than to anyone else, and Dr. Soden's biography serves to show that there is a wealth of interest of other kinds to be found in Goodman's life and career. There is, however, much to be criticised in this book,

both from the literary and the historical point of view. It is diffuse and prolix, overburdened with minute detail and annotation, sprawling and disproportionate in its construction. It is much in the nature of a series of antiquarian and genealogical studies into which every tiny morsel of detail ascertainable has been put with loving care, and often with disregard for proportion or even immediate relevance. Furthermore, it is strongly and emotionally charged throughout with the author's particular—indeed one might say peculiar—brand of Anglo-Catholicism which renders impossible anything approaching a dispassionate examination of the issues, ecclesiastical or political, of the first half of the seventeenth century in England.

Nevertheless, the book manages to be of more than antiquarian interest and, despite the extreme nature of the author's *parti pris,* his immense labors and perseverance have produced a work that was worth writing, although it might well have been a more valuable book on a higher historical level if it had been written in a different way. Dr. Soden's thoroughness in his investigations of Goodman's family and connections, his journeyings, his varied experiences, the events of his career, and the texts of his voluminous but now largely unread writings, leave us, cumulatively, with a picture of early seventeenth-century life and manners that has much to teach us. Certain sections go even further, and in the author's examination of the attitudes of the Anglican episcopate during the Long Parliament and in his treatment of Laud, he would seem to have made a definite and valuable addition to our knowledge of the period and its personalities. There are some interesting reproductions of contemporary portraits, a detailed index, and full pedigrees of the Goodman family and of the Thelwall family with whom the Goodmans were connected.

H. Outram Evennett

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I Papi in Campagna. By Emilio Bonomelli. (Rome: Gherardo Casini, Editore. 1953. Pp. xvi, 516. L 2800.)

The title of Dr. Bonnelli's work (*The Popes in the Country*) is somewhat misleading, for while the book does deal with papal summer residences during the past five centuries, it is principally the history of the present vila at Castel Gandolfo, and of the vacation life of the eleven pontiffs who have summered there since 1626. Nobody is better qualified to write on this subject than Dr. Bonomelli. As a scholar, he has sought out and utilized the diaries, the castle and community records, and the

pictorial documents which are the indispensable sources of this type of history. As the man who supervised the remodeling of the Castel Gandolfo villa in the 1930's, and who has been its administrative director ever since, he is obviously the foremost authority on its more recent annals.

The green-mantled Alban Hills—which might be called the proto-Rome, since here stood the humble huts of Alba Longa, home of Rome's founders—are by nature a cool and restful retreat from the torrid summer heat of Rome, some fifteen miles away. In the year 81 A.D., the Emperor Domitian began to develop, in the area about Lake Albano, a vast summer estate, a veritable city, the *Albanum Domitiani*, which included the lands of the future papal villa. Used by his successors, it was divided by Constantine, and although it shared with Rome the depredations of Ostrogoth and Saracen, it lost much of its importance during the early Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century the Gandolfo family built a castle in the northern part of the former *Albanum;* but in a few years this castle, and the little village around it, came into the hands of the major landlords of the district, the Savelli. Early in the seventeenth century Castel Gandolfo became a papal estate. Two decades later Pope Urban VIII chose the spot for his summer vacations; and from that time on the papal villa began to assume its modern proportions.

Dr. Bonomelli presents, in addition to the record of this development, some very illuminating sidelights on the popes who have vacationed at their Castel Gandolfo estate. His picture of the frank, spontaneous Benedict XIV is particularly happy. The escapism of Clement XIV, with his fondness for bird-snaring and hard riding, goes far toward explaining his general papal policies. Of quite another sort was the dear, parsimonious old hermit, Gregory XVI, whose most daring sport was fishing for lazy carp in the papal ponds. The author, by the way, explains and corrects the common understanding of Gregory's opposition to introducing railroads into the papal states.

Naturally, the book is of special value for its anecdotes of the courageous Pius XI during the latter years of his reign. Of the intimate life of Pius XII, of course, it says less. But the chapter "Pius XII and the War," which recounts the hospitality extended by the papal villa in 1944 to some 15,000 refugees from the Anzio campaign, is a valuable essay on papal charity. More than that, it is an essay in the sufferings of displaced persons which, told in feeling, almost poetic prose, by one who was himself the unassuming agent of that charity, achieves a really epic quality.

If Dr. Bonomelli indulges at times in what seem to be unnecessary details, this fault is easily pardoned in a man who is so devoted to his work, and who loves so much this "pays où l'oranger fleurit." Carefully annotated, adequately indexed, and, at the same time, written with distinction, *I Papi in Campagna*, as a work of local and anecdotic history, casts

valuable, if incidental, light upon the lives and works of modern popes. The handsome format, the fifty-one excellent photographic illustrations, and the charming color print of Clement XIV in cavalcade on the jacket, round out the merits of this thoroughly *simpatico* book.

ROBERT F. MCNAMARA

St. Bernard's Seminary

Religious Liberalism in Eighteenth-Century England. By Roland N. Stromberg. (Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 192. $3.40.)

The title of this work is misleading. As with so many books, the reader will discover that the "eighteenth century" begins in 1689 and ends somewhere around 1730 with the period thereafter, to about 1750, including "the rise of Methodism," treated as an epilogue. But the author states his purpose clearly enough: "We have still to account for the Age of Reason—to explain, that is, the emergence of the remarkable faith that the world is a rational one and man a rational creature, from which among other things it follows that man has a rational religion" (p. 9). What follows is the story of its rise and decline, the concomitant secularization of politics, and the transition from moralism to humanitarianism in religion—with a long glance at the social reformers of the future whose advent might be said to have been heralded by Carlyle.

The approach is narrow in two senses neither of which reflect, necessarily, upon the author. His perspective is intra-Protestant, and the narrative a segment of a story that began with the Protestant Revolt! If he had regarded his study as within the history of western civilization from about the time of Saint Benedict to that of Adolf Hitler, rather than of the period delimited by Calvin and Lessing, his perspective would have been better and his insights deeper.

It would seem, from the bibliography, that no Catholic ever focused attention upon the period under review (to say no more). Account might have been taken with profit, indeed, of Crane Brinton's *Ideas and Men.* One having just finished reading Morris Kline's *Mathematics in Western Culture,* e.g., cannot help but sense a certain shallowness here—although it was published too late to have been taken into account. There are some relevant essays in *Pope and His Contemporaries* (edited by Clifford and Landa) also.

Yet this is a good study, turning as it does upon the problem of deism, and it reveals the author's integrity in every line. The general narrative may be relied upon. One must, however, be on the alert in regard to the nostalgic wistfulness of his interpretations. This is revealed, in part, in

a quoted passage of Lessing's which eptiomizes the author's conclusions: "The thing we call heretic has one very good side. It means a person who has at least wished to see with his own eyes. The question is only whether the eyes were good." The author himself puts it this way: "Christianity . . . must still grapple with its fate with the weapons of reason, as opposed to authority, superstition, or 'enthusiasm' " (p. 174).

There is, in addition, expression given to the conception that "religion" must be socially dynamic. Stromberg points out that religious liberals, in France, were engaged in a struggle against the "inharmonious order" of the existing "unnatural" regime, while those in England (deists, etc.) generally assumed the "naturalness" of the existing order. It was the Tory "Anglicans" and the radical "Dissenters" who did not. One may, with this in mind, catch a glimpse of some aspects of the viewpoint of this book by reflecting upon the "conclusion" drawn in the following passage (p. 165): "Clearly Edmund Burke was a Christian *because* he was a conservative in politics—because, that is, he *saw* in the Church a useful *tool* of political conservatism and *because* the French radicals were inclined to deism" (Italics mine).

ELDON M. TALLEY

College of New Rochelle

Monseigneur d'Hulst. Sa vie, ses luttes, son rayonnement, 1841-1896. By Chanoine Cordonnier. (Paris: Bernard Grasset. 1952. Pp. 355.)

Although Monsignor d'Hulst died at the age of fifty-five, he had played a rather important role in the history of the French Church at the end of the nineteenth century. Organizer in its infancy of the Catholic Institute of Paris, closely involved in the early stages of the cases of Duchesne and Loisy, ardent promoter of international scientific congresses for Catholics, untiring as a preacher of the conferences at Notre Dame and elsewhere, a man of action and a director of souls, d'Hulst had—as the adviser of Cardinal Langénieux and as a deputy—an important part in the politics of the Republic in the period of the *ralliement*. At the beginning d'Hulst was a decided opponent of the *raillement* policy, although in other respects he was actively opposed to the ideas of the intransigents who refused any concession, even on practical grounds, to liberal tendencies. On several occasions he was also involved to a certain extent in the general history of the Church, for he seems to have had a share in the origins of two celebrated encyclicals of Leo XIII, viz., the *Immortale Dei* of 1885 on liberalism and the *Providentissimus* of 1893 on biblical questions.

The life of this intelligent and pious prelate, overflowing with activity, was written about forty years ago by Cardinal Baudrillart. Making use

of an abundance of unpublished documents, of which he reproduced numerous extracts, and not hesitating to note, along with the eminent qualities, the limitations and occasionally the blunders of his hero, the successor of Monsignor d'Hulst as Rector of the Catholic Institute produced a work of great historical value which still constitutes a mine of extremely precious documents and of information of all kinds. From these two large volumes of Baudrillart—there were more than 1200 pages—Canon Cordonnier, to whom we already owe two well-documented biographies of Archbishop Fuzet and Cardinal Amette, has written a brief biography along strictly chronological lines. Baudrillart preferred to treat successively the different aspects of the multiple activities of his hero, a method which has the advantage of better underlining certain comparisons. Apart, therefore, from the new distribution of material the present work contains practically nothing new when compared to its predecessor, which it frequently follows quite closely. At the most one finds here and there some nuance, e.g., in the judgment on the Abbé Frémont, one of the obvious competitors of Monsignor d'Hulst for the pulpit of Notre Dame (p. 203).

But the hurried reader, who might recoil before the amplitude and the very detailed appearance of *La vie de Mgr. d'Hulst* of Baudrillart, will henceforth, thanks to this book which reads so pleasantly and which accurately sets forth all the essentials, have the opportunity to make quick contact with the rich personality of d'Hulst, and thus acquaint himself with the religious, intellectual, and political problems to which he was so closely related. To mention one minor point. The author attributes to Cardinal Lavigerie the note on French affairs sent to Leo XIII in September, 1884, of which Baudrillart maintained that he had not succeeded in discovering the authorship (p. 177). But since Canon Cordonnier states on the following page that the pope, much impressed by the note, "brought it to the attention of Cardinal Lavigerie," one is prompted to ask if this attribution, given, moreover, without any supporting evidence, is not the result of some mistake.

ROGER AUBERT

The Catholic University of Louvain

The Catholic Church in World Affairs. Edited by Waldemar Gurian and M. A. Fitzsimons. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 420. $4.25.)

There have been dramatic changes in the politics of the twentieth century and one that should not be overlooked is the re-emergence of the papacy in international affairs. At the death of Pius IX the secular

prestige of the Vatican was in eclipse. But the shattering of the European state system in two world wars, the growth of a new international consciousness, and the appearance of totalitarian political religions have caused many of the older opponents of the Church to reconsider their assumptions—for no longer is it self-evident that the future is on their side. The analysis of the three great totalitarian regimes in the encyclicals of Pius XI, and the peace pronouncements of the present pontiff, have added to the prestige of the Church which has been expanding since Leo XIII.

This development warrants the publication of this series of essays by an international team of experts gathered by the late Waldemar Gurian, to whom American scholarship owes a considerable debt. Nearly half of the chapters in this volume are concerned with general aspects of the relation of the Church and politics. Among these are two of prime importance: John Courtney Murray, S.J., "On the Structure of the Church-State Problem," a synopsis of the pioneering scholarly work he has done in his specialty; and that of Heinrich Rommen, "The Church and Human Rights," an original contribution which explores what the Church has done to preserve the human dignity of man from the power of the state.

The reputation of the other collaborators in this section makes their contributions worthy of attention. Professor Yves Simon develops several points drawn from his excellent *Philosophy of Democratic Government* (Chicago, 1952). In this essay the reviewer finds himself in accord with the major positions, but dissents on the following details: 1) the use of the term "the Church" in some places where the paucity of doctrinal definition might indicate the employment of such a phrase as "Catholic thinkers"; 2) the attack on the instrumental theory of government in which the author reasons that unity of political action implies unity of judgment which "can be procured in two ways, namely by way of unanimity and by way of authority" (p. 102). Could there not be a third, the way of consensus, in which citizens would agree on the ends of political action, while disagreeing on the means for their realization? 3) "When a pressure group undertakes to destroy the conscience of Congressmen through promise, threat and bombardment by telegrams, telephone calls and special delivery letters, transmission of power becomes ungenuine, the constitution is violated and the principle of authority is ignored" (p. 113). The ghost of Edmund Burke would nod assent to the proposition, but where would one discover constitutional violation?

The second half of the volume comprises essays on the present position of the Church in the major national units. To some degree these apply the data provided in the previous section. They also illustrate the importance of concrete historical circumstances in shaping the Church-State relations of a given area. The realities vary from wholehearted

acceptance of the disestablishment of religion in the United States, which Father McAvoy shows to be a formative factor in the internal development of American Catholicism, to a spirited defense of a close association of Church and State in Franco's Spain. The latter chapter, written before the recent concordat, gives unqualified endorsement to the legal restrictions on the Protestant minority and to other facets of the Spanish politico-religious solution which are in flat contradiction with the views of the other authors in this symposium. On balance, however, these regional studies justify the position of the editors that the Church is the champion of liberty and of the dignity of the human personality against the menace of the totalitarian leviathan.

JOSEPH N. MOODY

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Woman of Decision: The Life of Mother Mary Xavier Mehegan, Foundress of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Elizabeth, Convent, New Jersey. By Sister Blanche Marie McEniry. (New York: McMullen Books, Inc. 1953. Pp. xi, 231. $3.50.)

From a certain limited point of view the historian might question the review of this biography in a scholarly journal. The author plainly admits that "when Mother Xavier died she left little into which a biographer might delve," that the present story is "the result of an effort to piece together bits of information gathered from widely scattered sources." These sources omit the more recent published works, e.g., Ruane has replaced Herbermann for Sulpician history in the United States up to 1829; Yeager is a far more comprehensive treatment of James Roosevelt Bayley's career than Bayley's own *Brief Sketch* published in 1870; and Mother Seton has a more recent biography than the Barbery-Code or the limited work of Sister Mary Regis Hoare. No footnotes locate the documents cited in the text, and archives are not always accurately named. (The Archives of St. Joseph College are properly the Archives of St. Joseph Central House, Emmitsburg, Maryland; Baltimore Cathedral Archives have more recently become the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.) There is no index. Again, the historian may feel less than satisfied with the mere introduction of such intriguing subjects as the connections with the community of James J. Hill, whose wife was Mother Xavier's niece, and Edith O'Gorman, whose *Convent Life Exposed* contributed so much spice to the A. P. A. movement. But no attempt is made in this work to explore the subjects further.

Yet Sister Blanche Marie has made a valuable contribution to religious biography in her method of approach. Her technique is one which elicits the highest commendation and offers an excellent example to less judicious writers. The course of Mother Xavier's life of ninety-one years was crossed by many controversies which roused keen contemporary partisanship. The pages of her biography contain accounts of such dissensions as the Hughes-Deluol disagreement over the Sisters of Charity in New York in 1846, the affiliation of the Emmitsburg community with France in 1850, the estrangement between Mother Xavier's community and their former superior, that fiery petrol Father Bernard J. McQuaid, Mother Xavier's altercation with the Morris County Traction Company, the community's refusal to permit the Sisters of Charity to separate and become dependent upon the See of Boston and Archbishop William H. O'Connell. But such is the delicacy and justice of Sister Blanche Marie's treatment that no old bitterness creeps into her pages and thus no pens will be summoned to renewed counterattacks. Mother Xavier's biographer has a Wordsworthian affinity for "emotion recollected in tranquillity." It is no small achievement.

In the end, Mother Xavier's life is in reality the biography of her community from the time of its inception to the time of her death in 1915. And this is as it should be. Anyone who knows the true spirit of the Sisters of Charity accepts the desire for anonymity, the love for obedience and subordination, and the dread of the limelight which permeate the lives of these noble women whether they be lowly postulants or foundresses of motherhouses. A survey of the tremendous accomplishments of these foster children of Mother Seton in New Jersey leaves no doubt that Mother Mary Xavier Mehegan was truly a "magnificent, indomitable figure" in the annals of the Church of her times.

ANNABELLE M. MELVILLE

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Padre Pro. By Fanchón Royer. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1954. Pp. viii, 248. $3.50.)

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 began as a political protest. The perpetuity in office of the Porfirian regime had become unendurable. It supplied the spark that kindled the conflagration, but once the rebellion started it stirred the long-suffering masses who had been smarting with deep resentment against social injustice. The movement swept over the country like wildfire. The conflicting passions aroused were cleverly fanned by radical agitators of different hues until the anti-clericalism of

"liberal" Mexicans was whipped into a ruddy flame by unscrupulous leaders who spread doctrines worse than atheism and openly advocated the destruction of religion.

Padre Miguel Agustín Pro, S.J., was one of those who tried to quench the flames by pouring the balm of charity and kindness upon the consuming fire of human hatred and bitter passion. One of the early combatants of communism, a pioneer "priest worker" in Mexico who discovered his vocation while helping his father in the northern mines, he had become acquainted while preparing himself for the priesthood in Belgium, France, and Spain with the new apostolate of the worker. He soon returned to Mexico to exercise his ministry among the laborers and the countless poor with whom he felt that he had a genuine tie. He arrived in the middle of the Calles persecution of Catholics and brought needed solace and material aid to many of his persecuted countrymen.

Here is the story, vividly told in all its naked splendor, of a fearless victim who fell before the demoniac hatred of a man who boasted "I have a personal hatred for Christ." General Plutarco Elias Calles, strong man of the Mexican Revolution, is said to have declared "I've met Christ in my road on three different occasions and three times I have struck Him down." The gentle, harmless Father Pro, falsely accused of complicity in the attempted bombing of President-elect Alvaro Obregón, was enmeshed in the blind search for victims to the frenzy of the aroused Calles and found the martyrdom for which he had prayed fervently that his blood might bring religious peace to Mexico. Short was his apostolate, but like a meteor it left a luminous trail that pointed the way to love and peace in his torn country. Within twenty-five years of his death his cause came up in Rome for beatification.

Fanchón Royer knows Mexico and the psychology of Mexicans. She has gathered the details from every avilable source and put them together to tell the story of Father Pro's brief but fruitful life—he was killed at the age of thirty-six, only two years after his ordination. She draws a moving, vivid picture of an heroic life, all the more impressive because of the complete absence of the flambouyant. The book throws light on aspects of Catholic persecution in Mexico that have too frequently and too lightly been dismissed as reactionary propaganda. The brutal execution of Father Pro revolted public opinion within and without Mexico. The author has captured the full power of a dramatic incident in the great struggle for religious freedom which Mexican Catholics have fought since independence, both against atheism and communism that would banish God and religion from this earth.

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GENERAL HISTORY

The Hand Produced Book. By David Diringer. (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1953. Pp. 603. $15.00.)

This work is the second volume of a trilogy, following the author's *The Alphabet, A Key to the History of Mankind,* which was first published in 1949. The third volume, now in preparation, will be devoted to the illumination and binding of the ancient and mediaeval book. Accordingly, throughout the work under review, repeated references are made to the volume that has preceded and to the one which is to follow. The author has written primarily for that stock character, the general reader. However, since his book is world-wide in its scope, it will be very valuable to the scholar also, especially for the information furnished on the areas outside the latter's inevitably limited field of specialization. While the book offers relatively little that is really new, it is most welcome as a comprehensive, readable, and up-to-date synthesis of our present knowledge. Since the title and chapter headings do not all reveal sufficiently the wealth of information contained in the work, it will be worthwhile to describe the contents briefly before making a few further general observations and offering some critical comments on details.

Chapter I, "The Book in Embryo," deals with the pre-history of writing and the book, covering oral tradition, palaeolithic paintings and carvings, pictographic representations of stories, ancient writing materials, and the history of the key words: "book," "writing," "library," etc. Chapter II, "The Earliest Systems of Writing," summarizes material already presented in the author's *The Alphabet,* but needed here as background for the history of the book and to save the reader the inconvenience of consulting the volume mentioned. The titles of Chapters III, "Clay Tablet Books," IV, "Papyrus Books," V, "From Leather to Parchment," indicate sufficiently the respective contents. However, the title of Chapter VII, "The Book Follows Religion," is somewhat ambiguous. Actually, it deals with the book in the western Church and in the eastern (Greek) Church, and with the Syriac book, the Armenian and Caucasian "books," the Coptic book, Nubian manuscripts, the Ethiopic (Abyssinian) book, the Hebrew book, and the Arabic book—both Islamic and Christian. The scope of Chapter VIII, "Outlying Regions" (I): Ancient Middle East, Central and Southern Asia, and of Chapter IX, "Outlying Regions" (II): Far East and Pre-Columbian America, is clear enough from the titles. Chapter X, "Anglo-Celtic Contributions to the Development of the Medieval Book," with a conclusion—"Fate of Books," is the longest (pp. 439-543) and most detailed chapter in the present work. The author explains in his preface that this chapter has been written specifically for the English reader and that, if his book should be translated into other

languages, he plans to add a similar chapter for each country primarily concerned. Chapter XI, Appendix, "Inks, Pens, and Other Writing Tools," is an excellent survey on a world-wide basis. Chapters IV, V, VI and X are followed by fairly copious bibliographies. There is a short general bibliography (pp. 564-566), and a satisfactory index (pp. 567-603). Finally, the work is illustrated with a total of 185 cuts or plates. Unfortunately, the illustrations are numbered separately for each chapter, and there is no list of illustrations accompanying the table of contents.

In a work of such scope, it is hardly to be expected that any one scholar could maintain the same high standard of complete mastery and meticulous accuracy throughout. The author's bibliographies could be much better arranged, and, in the interests of his general reader, the selection of titles should have been made with greater discrimination. Here and there, too, he has not always been fortunate in the choice of modern "authorities" from whom he quotes. In Chapters VII and X a greater familiarity with the history of early Benedictine and Irish monasticism could be desired. The role of Cassiodorus, e.g., in establishing a scholarly tradition in Benedictine monasticism is ignored. On the other hand, Dr. Diringer has given a very good account of the Dead Sea Scrolls (pp. 176 ff.) and of the more recent finds at Qumran and in the Wadi Maraba'at, he mentions the recent discovery of an amazing collection of Gnostic texts at Chenoboskion in Egypt (pp. 316-317), and in his chapter on the Anglo-Celtic contribution he has presented a good summary of the present state of the question regarding the origin of Irish writing and book illumination. Pp. 62 ff.: The announcement of the apparently successful decipherment of certain tablets containing Minoan Linear Script B and the identification of the language as primitive Greek came too late to be mentioned here. P. 194: for Augustine, read Augustan. P. 205: for lutrin, it would be better to use the commonly employed term "lectern." P. 213: on the blunders of copyists, a reference to F. W. Hall, *Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 153-198, would be very helpful. There is no mention of this work in the author's bibliographies. Pp. 236 ff.: This section on book production and the book trade is disappointing. Stichometry, e.g., is not even mentioned. P. 240: Among the causes for the loss of ancient literature should be mentioned also the shift from papyrus to parchment and the resulting neglect of numerous works written on papyrus; cf. e.g., J. Ghellinck, S.J., *Patristique et moyen age*, II (Brussels, 1947), 367 ff. P. 248: In place of Oldfather, cf. R. A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor, 1952). P. 259: The statement, "The Church as a whole was hostile to pagan and secular literature. . . .", needs further amplification and qualification. P. 270: Here and elsewhere the appropriate chapters in Milkau-Leyh, *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissen-*

schaft, would be more reliable than Parsons and certain other works employed in its place. Milkau, however, is mentioned in one of the author's bibliographies. P. 276: St. Gall was not originally a Benedictine foundation, although it soon adopted the Benedictine rule. The whole treatment of the scholarly role of the religious orders is too vague here. The general reader will not be helped by the statement that "the learned work of the Augustinians was not on a level with the Benedictine Order, with its daughters the Cistercian Order and the Maurist Congregation in France." The Maurists, incidentally, were only founded in 1618. P. 283: The Vulgate should have been described more fully. Furthermore, the author is wrong in stating that Pius X appointed a commission of Benedictines "to prepare a new official version for the Catholic Church." The commission was appointed "to revise the Vulgate," i.e., not to make a new translation, but to restore the text as far as possible to its original form. P. 293: The quotation from Rawlings needs qualification, to say the least. Pp. 307 ff: In connection with Hyvernat's work on the J. Pierpont Morgan Coptic Collection, it is a pleasure to state that one of his old pupils, Father Theodore C. Petersen, C.S.P., is publishing an elaborate illustrated study on the Coptic book. P. 340: The words, "found it convenient to revive and promote," smack too much of the Enlightenment. The Sassanian kings were really promoters of Zoroastrianism because they approached the fanatical in the intensity of their Zoroastrian faith. P. 444: The whole treatment of the conversion of the Irish from paganism is quite superficial, and the quotation from Crawford (not otherwise identified) that "'Conversion' was a mere transference of allegiance from one magic power to another, believed to be more powerful," is not a happy one. Pp. 539 ff: It is hard to realize that the Protestant Revolt in England was responsible for such an enormous destruction of books, but, unfortunately, the evidence is only too solidly established. It is to be hoped that the names of modern scholars, who are so often mentioned or quoted, will be included in the index of a new edition of the present book.

Dr. Diringer has produced, on the whole, a very useful, generally reliable, and readable book. The publisher could have served his author better, for the paper is too glossy and the binding is cheap. Even considering the size of the work and the numerous plates, the price is very high.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

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Ancient History of Western Asia, India and Crete. By Bedřich Hrozný. Translated by Jindřich Procházka. (New York: Philosophical Library Inc. 1953. Pp. xiv, 260. $12.00.)

Dr. Hrozný, the distinguished Assyriologist at the Charles University in Prague, died in 1952 and this book, published posthumously, is a fitting memorial and summary of his life's work in the history and languages of the ancient Near East. There is not in it, and is not meant to be, any significantly new material or interpretation, which has not already been advanced, in his numerous articles and monographs, and which has not, for the most part, already been criticized and evaluated by his colleagues in the same disciplines.

Although the way to the right solution was indicated as early as 1902 by the Norwegian scholar, J. A. Knudtzon, it was Hrozný who, in 1915, first satisfactorily deciphered cuneiform Hittite, and showed the Indo-European character of its structure ["Die Lösung des hethitischen Problems," *Mitteilungen d. deut. Orientg.*, LVI, (1915) followed by the more elaborate *Die Sprache der Hethiter* (Leipzig, 1916-17)]. The brilliant manner in which he "broke the code" is described in Chapter XIII of this book. This was his most dramatic achievement, and, because of it, his name will always bear the same relation to cuneiform Hittite as does Rawlinson's to Achaemenid Persian and Champollion's to ancient Egyptian. No less distinguished, although less completely sure, was his work in the decipherment of the much more difficult hieroglyphic Hittite, a field in which he shares frontier honors with Bossert, Forrer, Gelb, and Meriggi [cf. his *Les inscriptions hittites hiéroglyphiques*, I, II, III (Prague, 1933-1937), and Barnett's review of it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1941 (2), 154-158]. On the other hand, Hrozný's attempted decipherment of the Proto-Indian inscriptions from Mohenjo-Daro (published in a series of articles, 1939-1942) needs much more testing, while his more recent brave try to interpret Cretan Linear B has now been antiquated by Michael Ventris' superb solution (*Antiquity*, 108 (December, 1953), and the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LXXIII (1953). In Chapters IV-VII the results of the more recent archeological discoveries in predynastic Near Eastern history (illustrating the Ghassûl culture in Palestine, the Halâf, Obeid, Elamite, Uruk, and Jemdet-Nasr cultures in Babylonia, and the Negade culture in Egypt) have been integrated with our previous knowledge of these periods and regions in such a way as to save the layman much searching after learned articles in the more remote journals and disciplines.

Two cautions, however, are in order for those who, like the present reviewer, are trained only in the traditional fields of classical scholarship, and need the guidance of experts in the newer and more exotic Near Eastern disciplines: (1) Hrozný's tendency towards facile etymologies,

apparent in his early works on cuneiform Hittite, has not been corrected; and (2) his fondness for overstatement, and in particular his failure to distinguish between what is stated as an hypothesis, or even as a mere guess, and what is stated as a known or proven fact, is most likely to mislead the unwary in this, the last and least specialized of his works.

WILLIAM F. MCDONALD

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Grosser Historischer Weltatlas. I. Teil: *Vorgeschichte und Altertum.* By Hermann Bengtson and Vladimir Milojčič, with the collaboration of G. H. R. von Koenigswald and Joachim Schröder (München: Bayerischer Schulbuch-Verlag, 1953. *Karten.* Pp. viii, 44 and 15; *Suchregister; Erläuterungen:* II, 123. 6.50 DM; 4.80 D.M.)

This new historical atlas, which is intended to serve the needs of college and university students and professors, may be characterized as an epoch-making work of its kind. It is a new work in every way, reflecting the latest state of our historical knowledge and presenting all the invaluable data for the historian that maps and charts can and should furnish. All the devices and techniques of graphic representation have been utilized to make the maps and charts clear and intelligible, and, at the same time, pleasing to the eye. While looking forward with great anticipation to Parts II and III, which will cover the Middle Ages and modern times respectively, the reviewer believes that Part I has long been the section most badly needed. Our knowledge of pre-history, proto-history, and the earlier phases of recorded history, has been enormously increased in the past fifty years. The research of the last two decades in particular has necessitated radical changes in our reconstruction of all history before 1500 B.C. in respect to chronology, cultural diffusion, intercultural relationships, etc. The older atlases are hopelessly out of date, and new editions of certain older works are not satisfactory because the old and new material cannot be presented in a unified manner. Moreover, the whole material cannot be recast according to the demands of new perspectives and the corresponding changes in emphasis. A brief description of the preparation and contents of Part I of the new atlas will give the reader a concrete idea of its great value and of its superiority over earlier works.

The *Grosser Historischer Weltatlas* is the fruit of the most careful planning and organization beginning in 1949. Nearly eighty scholars have been enlisted as collaborators in the work. Part I, *Prehistory and the History of Antiquity,* has been prepared by H. Bengtson and V. Milojčič of the University of Munich, internationally recognized author-

ities in ancient history and pre-history respectively, with the close collaboration of twelve distinguished specialists in the respective divisions of pre-history or ancient history—Oriental, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and early mediaeval. Every chart and map in the new atlas, therefore, reflects expert knowledge of the events, area, or site represented. In spite of the numerous collaborators, the editors have succeeded admirably in achieving unity and balance in Part I as a whole. While it would be impossible to describe the maps in detail, some comment at least must be made on a few of the more significant maps or charts.

Special attention is called to the four beautifully executed charts *A-D* representing the geological epochs, the development of plant and animal life on the earth, and furnishing a comprehensive and clearly arranged overview of the cultures of the Palaeolithic, Copper, Bronze, and Iron Ages to the beginning of our era, and also to the seven first pages of the atlas which contain a total of fourteen full-page or inset maps illustrating pre-history in detail. The development of geographical knowledge in antiquity from the old Babylonians to the geographer Ptolemy (*ca.* 150 A.D.) is illustrated on pages 8, 9, 15, and 17. In addition to the plans of ancient cities usually given, there is a map (*13b*) indicating the chief pre-historic sites of ancient Greece—including those mentioned in Greek legend, a map (*22b*) marking the principal sites of archaeological finds and excavations throughout the whole ancient world, and, finally, a map (*44*) showing the plans of eight widely scattered pre-historic settlements—from Troy to Altheim. A novel feature is to be noted in the full-page map (*25*) of ancient Rome. It has been prepared on transparent paper and is immediately followed by a map of modern Rome in 1950. Thus, ancient sites can be brought easily and immediately into relation with their modern surroundings. The Hellenistic Age (*16-22a*) and the late Roman and early Byzantine periods (*39-43*) are much better covered than in earlier atlases. Cultural and economic history has been emphasized. Thus, there is a map (*13a*) on the peoples and cultures of the ancient world *ca.* 500 B.C., a map (*21c*) on the spheres of Hellenic and Iranian culture, a map (*36*) illustrating the main cultural centers and centers of Romanization in the second century A.D., an excellent map (*37*) indicating Roman imports and exports in the first three centuries A.D., and one (*38*) depicting the spread of Christianity. The map indicating Roman imports is transparent and covers the map depicting exports, thus making valuable comparisons as to commodities and areas very easy.

The utility of the charts, maps, and plans contained in the atlas is enormously increased by the companion volume of *Erläuterungen*, or "Explanations." Dr. Milojčič explains and interprets the charts and maps devoted to pre-history, while those illustrating ancient history proper—the bulk of the maps—are described and interpreted by Professor

Bengtson. All problems are faced critically, the latest chronology is employed, and copious bibliography is supplied in footnotes. The work is amazingly up-to-date. Thus, even Braidwood's very recent discovery of the Jarmo culture is mentioned in the *Erläuterungen* and Jarmo appears on one of the maps. The *Suchregister* or "Index" is very full and repeated use has indicated its accuracy. The size of the page is adequate—*ca.* 9½ x 13½ inches—and the *Karte* and *Erläuterungen* are bound in stiff cardboard. This cheap but satisfactory binding has helped to keep the price of the work unusually low.

The following criticisms are offered. Use of the atlas under artificial light has indicated that brighter and more contrasting colors on the smaller maps, especially, would be desirable. Some of the insets are almost too small, but, of course, space was thus saved for presenting additional data. The map of Egypt under Thutmose III (*26b*) would seem to be entirely out of place, as one would expect to find it in close proximity to the maps representing early Mesopotamia, etc. (*10a* ff.) The Hittite principalities *ca.* 1700 B.C. are indicated on *10a*, but the great Hittite Empire which flourished *ca.* 1400-1200 is not represented at all. There is an excellent map of Palestine in the time of Christ (*27a*), but no map of Palestine under David and Solomon and in the period of the divided monarchy. Maps of Palestine in the earlier period are conveniently available in the biblical atlases, but an inset map indicating the distribution of the Israelite tribes, etc., would be useful in the present work.

The *Grosser Historischer Weltatlas*, Part I, is an excellent work and is warmly recommended as an indispensable tool for college and university students and teachers. It is to be hoped that the mediaeval and modern sections will appear very soon. An English translation of Charts *A-D* and of the *Erläuterungen* would make the atlas practically accessible to large numbers of students and teachers who have little or no facility in German.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

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Roman Gaul. By Olwen Brogan. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 250. $4.25.)

Many good, brief reviews of this book have appeared in various journals. The best review, probably, is the one given on the dust-jacket of the book, since the best review one can write of such a book will be a careful summary of the contents. For those who deal with Gaul in any

way, this is a most valuable hand-book, a guide, a *vade mecum*. The text is always concise, generally accurate, and the photographs are excellent. There are over fifty figures and photographs, all well done.

The first three chapters deal with the history of Gaul to the time of Diocletian and Chapter X deals with Gaul in the later empire. The other chapters embody, I believe, the greatest contribution made here, especially the chapters on "Town Planning and Buildings," "Some Gallo-Roman Towns," and "The Countryside and Natural Resources." "Industries and Commerce" are handled well, but there are other good treatments available also. The chapters on "Art and Religion" are very summary in character and add little to these phases which have been widely studied and written about by others. There is an index and a map. There is also a bibliography arranged by chapters, which contains almost no general works at all but, apparently, only those specialized works which the author relied upon most. These chapter bibliographies are very brief.

It is hard to find anything to criticize in the work of either the author or the publisher. The book is small, handy, clearly written, and well printed. It will be in constant use with many teachers and scholars.

One must remember, even if with some disagreement, the resounding words of Mommsen to the effect that it was Caesar's conquest of Gaul which gave the ancient Mediterranean civilization the opportunity to become the founder of European, or "Atlantic," culture. Gaul is the keystone in the arch and none can deny it. That is why a more thorough and deeper study of ancient Gaul is always eminently rewarding.

THOMAS A. BRADY

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The Structure of Spanish History. By Américo Castro. Translated by Edmund L. King. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 689. $9.00.)

The Iberian peninsula belongs, of course, to the Atlantic Community and shares in our common western civilization. But like other members of the community—Scandinavia, or England or France, for instance—it has developed cultural peculiarities, a distinctive Hispanicism which is evident throughout the big new world of Hispanic America as well as in the old world of Hispanic Europe. What is the essence of this Hispanicism, and how is it to be explained? Among the galaxy of Hispanic philosophers and historians, such as Unamuno, Menéndez Pidal, Madariaga, Ortega, and Oliveira Martins, who have latterly offered answers, Américo Castro is one of the most learned and most ingenious. His *España en su historia*,

published in 1948, is a monumental *Kulturgeschichte;* and, with considerable revision and enlargement, it is now available to us in English.

According to Castro, "Hispanic Peculiarity" does not derive from Roman or Visigothic Spain, but rather from "nine centuries of Christian-Jewish-Moorish interaction." The Spanish Christians, while spurning the technological and materialistic activities of Spanish Moslems and Jews, absorbed much of the spirit of these peoples. From the Moslems they drew inspiration not only for literary forms, polite usages, and popular customs, but also for peculiar kinds of anarchism and absolutism, for a fatalistic attitude toward life, and, above all, for religious fanaticism and the idea of "holy war." This idea was re-enforced from the ninth century by the cult of Santiago, which, according to Professor Castro, involved identification of St. James the Great ("Son of Thunder") with St. James the Less (the "brother" of Christ), and provided for the Spanish Christians a more inspiring and potent warrior patron than Mohammed was for the Moslems. Whence came the crusading fraternities and eventually the extinction of Moorish power in 1492 and the intolerant expulsion of Moriscos in 1609.

From the Jews, the Christians profited in literature, in medicine, in finance; and it was Jews who contributed pride in "purity of blood" and furnished conspicuous examples of clannishness and intolerance. According to Professor Castro, the Spanish Inquisition, which he tellingly denounces, could hardly have developed as it did except for the role that converted Jews played in it; both Ferdinand the Catholic's mother and Torquemada himself were of Jewish descent.

From his exhaustive study, the author concludes: "If I had to locate that which is most characteristic of Hispanic life, I would put it between the acceptance of inertia and the willful outburst through which the person reveals what there is—be it something insignificant or something of value—in the depths of his soul, as if he were his own theatre." The modern Spaniard, like the mediaeval, is spiritually minded, and to understand him, "we must somewhat forget ideas of material progress, decadence, political power, and technological efficiency." In the historic Hispanic culture, there have been no equivalents of "Leonardo, Copernicus, Descartes, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton," but not less important, in "the world of man's highest values," have been "Fernando de Rojas, Herman Cortes, Saint John of the Cross, Cervantes, Velásquez, and Goya."

Altogether, the book is extremely suggestive and stimulating. It is also, in spots, highly controversial and a bit too "mystical." The author maintains that "history cannot consist in a relation of the successive events (in themselves but meaningless anecdotes), nor in merely showing the achievements of a civilization out of the context of life, nor in the search for physical or economic-social causes, nor in dissolving the par-

ticularities of the life of a people in the universality of the human." History, I agree, should not consist *only* in these things. But the author, it seems to me, has gone to the opposite extreme, and made his history too exclusively cultural and nationalist and too dependent on intuitive judgment. In confining himself pretty much to literary study of interrelations of Christians, Moslems, and Jews in Spain during the Middle Ages and early modern times—an important study in itself—he overlooks the religious and political Roman heritage of Christian Spain and likewise any similarity between Spain and other members of the Atlantic Community. Incidentally, the English translation is occasionally clumsy, and why should the oft used royal name of Alfonso be always rendered in the French form of Alphonse?

CARLTON J. H. HAYES

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The Changing Law. By Sir Alfred Denning. (London: Stevens and Sons Ltd.; Toronto: Carswell Co. 1953. Pp. viii, 122. $1.80.)

This little book by a distinguished Lord Justice of the English Court of Appeal, despite its provocative title, frankly disclaims any attempt at a profound exposition of legal principles. It is the result of five lectures which Lord Justice Denning gave in England and Ireland, in which he sought to draw a picture of the changes that are taking place today in the common law of England. These changes have been accomplished both by acts of Parliament and by judicial decisions. Within the limits thus set, the author has admirably achieved his task. He writes in clear non-technical language, and the book will be enjoyed by lawyers and laymen alike.

Americans will be interested in Sir Alfred's first lecture on "The Spirit of the British Constitution," often a puzzle to those accustomed to the limitations of a written constitution. This spirit lies in what the author calls the three instincts—the instinct for justice, the instinct for liberty, and finally the practical instinct which balances rights with duties and powers with safeguards, and which Sir Alfred seems to think is peculiarly British. It is the author's view that this spirit has remained the same, despite the wartime necessity of entrusting enormous powers to the executive branch of the government—powers which the author fears cannot be retracted. One lecture is devoted to "The Rule of Law in the Welfare State." It would appear that most of the legal problems that have been presented by the nationalization of public

utilities and other basic industries have been met by statutory changes rather than by a departure from the principle of *stare decisis*. One of the outstanding changes has been effected by the Crown Proceeding Act of 1947 which has removed the immunity formerly enjoyed by governmental departments for the negligent acts of their agents. Thus, the old maxim "The king can do no wrong" has given way to enlightened legislation just as it has in many of our states.

It would serve no purpose here to enumerate all the changes the author points out in his lectures on "The Changing Civil Law" and on "The Rights of Women." As might have been expected, some of the injustices of rent and housing acts have been overcome. While Parliament has mitigated much of the harshness of the common law, the courts have not hesitated on occasion to depart from outmoded principles in the interest of justice and equity. Thus, according to the author, English judges have had a direct hand in modifying the law relating to landlord and tenant, consideration in contracts, and the doctrine of last clear chance in tort actions.

A final lecture on the "Influence of Religion" in which the author shows how the doctrines of Christianity have permeated and molded the common law might be pondered by those who would divorce law and morals. Unfortunately, the repetition of an old canard about the attitude of the Catholic Church upon the subject of lying detracts from an otherwise excellent essay.

J. B. MORONEY

Superior Court
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Christian Realism and Political Problems. By Reinhold Niebuhr. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1953. Pp. 203. $3.00.)

Out of the many essays that Dr. Niebuhr has published in various periodicals, he has picked the group contained in *Christian Realism and Political Problems* as best exemplifying the standpoint of what he calls Christian realism in the discussion of current political and international problems. Negatively, the author's collection of essays is a stricture of liberal philosophy for its shallow optimism; in a positive way, it is an attempt to inform liberalism of the rôle of evil in moral and social life. Although Dr. Niebuhr has many excellent observations to make—as, e.g., that technics have established a rudimentary world community but have not integrated it organically, morally, or politically—he has, in the opinion of the reviewer, all along misunderstood the nature of

liberalism. He has taken its shallows for its depths: liberalism is deeply pessimistic in all of its premises, and that explains precisely why its optimism is shallow. What Dr. Niebuhr unwittingly does is offer liberal philosophy its own pessimism. Was it not, after all, the great father of liberalism, John Locke, who found that the natural law, impelling man to the good, left him "unendowed"—that is, that goodness is thinkable only in terms of material power and prosperity? Was it not Thomas Hobbes, whom political theorists now recognize as a father, greater than Locke, of modern liberalism, who found the universe totally unintelligible and could find no law for man other than one that prompts him to save his own skin at any cost? Was it not Rousseau, that devotee of the science of simple souls, who found this science to be the virtue of sub-human nature? These are all the great fathers of modern liberalism, and they knew more about evil—having, indeed, thought to have possessed the knowledge of good and evil—than Dr. Niebuhr seems even to suspect.

That Dr. Niebuhr offers liberalism its own pessimism as a corrective for its shallow optimism is clear from the burden of the essay which apparently sets the key-note for all of the others—the one entitled "Augustine's Political Realism." Reading St. Augustine in a manner which quite ignores the scholarship of men who have labored in the field of political philosophy (a criticism, in fact, which is valid as well against the author's treatment of classical political philosophy), Dr. Niebuhr offers as the "bond" of social life not justice, but the desire (love) of a common object. Men are not good enough for us to presume that they seek justice, but they are evil enough for us to presume that they seek something. Justice and its rules follow only upon the knowledge of whatever it is that men happen to seek. This is a truly amazing position for "Christian realism"; but it fits into the structure of Dr. Niebuhr's thought, because, he tells us, the "self" transcends reason—transcends, that is to say, any end known to be truly good. Liberty, it appears, is found essentially in a kind of Manichean contest between evil and good loves. This liberty of contrariety in the face of man's natural end indeed exists; but it is not the mark, as Dr. Niebuhr seems to suppose, of man's perfection, and hence it is not the starting point of any practical science.

Dr. Niebuhr ought in all seriousness to restudy the classical philosophers and the mediaeval philosophers; for he does them much less than justice. In brief, he is attempting to show—and for this he is to be praised—that social and political realities are not the object of art but of prudence; but his analysis would surrender them to chance and fortune, for by prudence he understands something that only resembes the real thing: unlike true prudence, which is deliberative because of the uncertainty of the means, Dr. Niebuhr's "prudence" is typically existentialist in demanding a total freedom with respect to both end and means. To reduce

prudence either to science or to chance is to take the road to despair. Dr. Niebuhr's transcendence of self over reason moves in the direction of Marx's "absolute being of man." But Marx, let us not forget it, very profoundly claimed to have completed the total liberal emancipation of man. Marx is still the cleverest of the liberals, which, indeed, explains his enormous appeal.

CHARLES N. R. MCCOY

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Medieval Essays. By Christopher Dawson. (New York and London: Sheed and Ward. 1954. Pp. vii, 271. $3.50.)

It was high time that Mr. Dawson's *Medieval Religion* (New York, 1934), which has been out of print for the past nine years, should be made available again. But we are doubly grateful to him, and to his publishers, for the happy thought that has added to the six essays of the original volume six more dealing with the same period. Of the new ones, two have already appeared elsewhere: the essay on the decline of the Roman world contributed in 1931 to *A Monument to St. Augustine*, and a lecture on Church and State in the Middle Ages that formed part of a series delivered at Cambridge in 1935 and published in the following year. The other four are hitherto unpublished: The Study of Christian Culture, The Christian East and the Oriental Background of Christian Culture, The Moslem West and the Oriental Background of Later Medieval Culture, and the Feudal Society and the Christian Epic. The new essays have been inserted among those of the older book in a broadly chronological order.

The result is surprisingly successful. Not only do we now have twelve instead of six of the author's valuable essays but, in spite of the haphazard manner of its assembling, the new volume is superior to the earlier one in balance and in unity. The title *Medieval Religion* was always questionable; it promised more than the book contained. The new title may appear to be extremely general, yet strangely enough it fits, probably because it suggests at once something of the extraordinary sweep of the subject matter. From the fourth to the fourteenth century it stretches, and from a Christian East that penetrated as far as India and China to a Moslem West that jutted well into the Atlantic. The fall of the Roman Empire, the splendor of Byzantium and of Islam, the development of feudalism, the rise of national monarchies, the somber society of Piers Plowman—all are there, while the particular topics treated range in interest from theological, sociological, and political to literary and scientific.

Mr. Dawson's readers know that he is never superficial, even when dealing with the broadest subjects. He makes no pretense to treat the present topics fully, but what he has to say is consistently profound. He throws a penetrating light on selected areas and aspects of the Middle Ages and stimulates a fresh and purposeful interest in them. One can scarcely read anywhere in the volume without being stirred to probe further into the problems raised, especially when the insight and wisdom that we have come to associate with Mr. Dawson's observations open up new viewpoints or restore forgotten ones that had been too readily abandoned.

The essay entitled "The Study of Christian Culture" merits special attention. Nothing that the author has ever written could serve better than these twelve pages as an introduction to the theme, spirit, and purpose of his work as a whole. It rings like a manifesto that re-echoes repeatedly in the pages that follow. Here Mr. Dawson insists once more that religion is the key of history and that Christian culture is at the heart of what we call our western civilization. But this Christian culture is, unfortunately, all too little understood, largely because nationalism has warped historical studies as well as historical perspective. He makes an earnest plea for a thoroughgoing study of Christian culture, as exemplified especially in the Middle Ages. Not that our interest should be purely historical or literary. Indeed it cannot be, for it is still relevant to the problems of today in spite of the immense changes that have transformed the modern world.

GEORGE B. FLAHIFF

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

Le royaume Latin de Jérusalem. By Jean Richard. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1953. Pp. 367. 800 fr.)

As its title indicates, and as the author explains more fully in his introduction, this is a study of the crusaders' kingdom of Jerusalem during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It is concerned exclusively with the kingdom proper and, therefore, does not treat the affairs of the northern states, Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli. Since these have already been described in a comparable manner by C. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades* (Paris, 1940), and by Richard himself, *La Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine* (Paris, 1945), the volume under review completes a study by modern French scholarship of the entire crusaders' civilization in the Levant.

Richard's work, unlike that of Röhricht, Grousset, or the first two volumes thus far published of Runciman, is not primarily narrative history. Nor does it resemble the institutional studies of Dodu or La Monte. Rather it is a combination of both, and the author has tried "to coordinate more closely than has hitherto been done the legal texts and documents with the narrative sources." In addition, in line with the current interpretation of the crusaders' states as "colonies," he has emphasized the geographical and the complex cultural environment in which the crusaders maintained their government. Rey, and more recently Grousset, were pioneers in this field and it is fitting that the latter should have remarked in the preface that Richard is exceptionally well qualified through his studies and his scholarly associations to "break the barrier too long maintained between the students of the crusades and the orientalists." Actually, in the reviewer's opinion, this "barrier" has long since been demolished, but he will agree that Grousset and Richard have contributed heavily to the demolition.

Perhaps the book's major contribution is the analysis of the relations between natives and crusaders and the latter's adjustments to their new environment. Chapter X, "Le statut des indigènes," is a particularly important study of the native population, Christian and Moslem, urban and rural, under Latin rule which reveals the crusaders as remarkably enlightened "colonial" administrators. In a chapter entitled "Bourgeois et colons" the author demonstrates that translated French settlers included a rural as well as an urban middle class in addition to the knights. Royal power is analyzed from the standpoint of the laws, but strictly in relation to the historical context. Dealings between king and barons are also explained and a detailed geographical description of the major fiefs adds clarity to the discussion. The Latin ecclesiastical organization, regular and secular, is given extended treatment, although more concerning the friars in the thirteenth century would have been welcome.

The period following the fall of the "First Kingdom" in 1187 presents a different problem. Partly because the kingdom was so reduced in size, it was more than ever necessary to resort to diplomacy. Fortunately, the divisions in the Moslem world after Saladin's death (1193) made such a course possible. As a consequence, in the final century of the Latin states there were some eighty years of truce. Despite internal dissensions which were immensely complicated by the appearance of the Emperor Frederick II and the projection into the Latin states of the Guelph-Ghibelline controversy, and despite repeated failures in the principal military ventures, the thirteenth century holds abundant interest for the student of institutions. In a chapter "Le Royaume des assises" Richard rightly emphasizes the birth of a juridical literature significant not only for the Latin Orient but for feudalism generally. Moreover, these laws which

successfully protected the rights of individuals prevented the formulation of a strong monarchy, surely one of the reasons for the ultimate failure of the crusaders' states. It is significant, as the author demonstrates, that the famous *Assises de Jérusalem* were largely drawn up in the atmosphere produced by the strenuous resistance of the "native" barons to centralized control as represented by Frederick II and his lieutenants.

Because their assistance was essential the cities of Italy, southern France, and Spain increased their privileges beyond those already won in the twelfth century. In the towns still in Latin hands their position was one of virtual autonomy, and, according to Richard, the commercial prosperity of the Latin kingdom reached its apogee during this period. But the intense inter-city rivalries, notably that of Genoa and Venice, finally contributed to the weakness, not the strength, of the kingdom.

Richard analyses in some detail the decline of the Latin states in the late thirteenth century and finds that the customary diplomacy of the earlier years based on a divided Islam was no longer feasible after the appearance of the Mongols. The great mistake, perhaps understandable in view of Europe's earlier fear of Mongol aggression, was the failure to join with the khanate of Persia against an Islam again united under the Egyptian Mamluks. Responsibility for the failure lay partly in Europe, which no longer could divert its energies from local affairs, and partly in the East where until the very end petty quarrels thwarted common action. The author also points out that a Jerusalemite "nationality" which had developed in the twelfth century was lost in the thirteenth with the rise of separate national and even religio-national "confréries."

M. Richard has succeeded in his effort to present a concise historical picture of institutional development in the Jerusalem of the crusaders. To the generally tested judgments of his predecessors he has added a number of his own conclusions, a fresh approach, and a fine sense of co-ordination. Only a few minor faults need be mentioned. The figure 20,000 foot soldiers at the siege of Jerusalem in 1099 is probably somewhat too large if Runciman's figures can be accepted. A. C. Krey in his article, "Urban's Crusade, Success or Failure?" [*American Historical Review*, LIII (January, 1948), 235-250] pointed out that Daimbert was presumably not a papal legate and that the project for a church-state in Jerusalem did not originate in Rome. Richard has worked mainly with the sources, but there is an excellent bibliography of secondary as well as primary works. To this might be added R. Pernoud, "Le moyen âge jusqu'en 1291" in the first volume of G. Rampart, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille* (Paris, 1949), and Volume II of the *Cambridge Economic History*. Publication costs prevented the inclusion of an index and the author kindly provided the reviewer with a mimeographed copy. It is to be hoped that so important a volume may in a future edition be equipped

with this indispensable tool. The author, a former member of the École Française de Rome, is presently an archivist and will contribute to one of the forthcoming volumes of the Pennsylvania History of the Crusades.

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

New York University

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Portable Renaissance Reader. Edited by James B. Ross and Mary M. McLaughlin. (New York: Viking Press, Inc. 1953. Pp. xii, 756. $2.50.)

The editors of this volume have performed a very notable service in making easily available a well-rounded selection from writings which reveal so much concerning the attitudes and conditions of the Renaissance period. Both continental and English authors are included, with the greater portion coming from Italy, but with good representation from France, Germany, Spain, and other areas.

Almost half of these translations have been newly prepared by the editors, usually from works not previously available in English. For example, a very interesting selection from a sixteenth-century "Toynbee," Loys Le Roy, is included in the first section of the present volume, dealing with the general world-view of the Renaissance. Most of the selections in this section, such as two letters of Erasmus, of 1517, writing of peace and the revival of good letters, and of Vasari, on the *rinascita* of art, reflect a supreme optimism. The second section, dealing with economic, social, and political conditions, especially during the sixteenth century, is one of the best in the book. This includes the concrete, detailed report by Ludovico Guicciardini on trade and commerce at Antwerp in 1560; and the remarkably penetrating analysis of the political and religious situation in France as of 1561 from one of the *relazioni* of the Venetian ambassadors. The third section, on the Study of Man, includes Alberti's self-portrait of a universal man, and other interesting works, such as the letter of Reuchlin to Leo X, attempting to protect himself from his enemies. In this section also are a few pages of the poetry of the period, from Petrarca to Wyatt. The section on natural science has a number of good selections, both on the general attitude and work in special fields, from Oresme to Galileo. The section on religious thought includes among a number of interesting items the interchange of letters between Erasmus and Luther on the subject of freedom of the will.

The editors have supplied a helpful introduction, short biographical list of the authors, and a chronological table, all of which contribute to

the general excellence of this volume, which is such a worthy and welcome companion to their similar volume on the mediaeval period.

WALTER W. J. WILKINSON

Georgetown University

The Gentleman of Renaissance France. By William Leon Wiley. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 303. $5.00.)

Our ability to recreate the past in all the vivid detail of daily life owes much to the students of literature, who have utilized their specialized knowledge for the writing of social history. Professor Wiley's charming and erudite study of the gentleman of Renaissance France is in that great tradition and is very appropriately dedicated to the late Abel Lefranc. Here we can see the French nobleman of the sixteenth century as he undoubtedly was—at court and in the country, at school, at table, in love, and at war. There is here a wealth of information concerning his manners, his dress, his sports and diversions, his code of honor, his superstitions and beliefs—all presented with abundant documentation, but also with an informality and wit that free it from the blight of antiquarianism.

For Professor Wiley, as for most historians of French literature, the French Renaissance is roughly contemporaneous with the sixteenth century, the period that opened brilliantly with the wars in Italy and faded away in the dust and tumult of the wars of religion. In that period the French gentleman stood midway between the independent if rather rough feudal knight and the polished but subservient courtier of the *roi soleil.* As was the case with so many aspects of the culture of the French Renaissance, the concept of what constituted gentility was influenced by classical and Italian models, but at the same time had its roots firmly planted in the indigenous national tradition. It was in many ways refined by the influence of Castiglione's *Il Cortigiano* and Giovanni della Casa's *Galateo,* and it owed something to moral and ethical ideals drawn from Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, and Plutarch. It probably also owed more to Christian sources than Professor Wiley suggests, even if we accept his highly debatable assertion that "the Renaissance was certainly more pagan than Christian" (p. 15). But, as the realistic picture of the French gentleman emerges in these pages, he seems less the product of any literary, philosophical, or religious tradition than of a social system that was founded upon mediaeval feudalism and chivalry, but was in process of being transformed by the rising power of national monarchy. "In most cases," as the author sums up the situation, "the gentleman of the Renaissance left it to the poets and philosophers to decide what qualities he should have inside and outside. He was very busy, for his own part,

fighting wars, hunting stags, governing provinces, and following the court of his King" (p. 40). On the whole, one gets the impression that the brilliance of genteel society was not greatly sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought. Perhaps that explains the relatively small part that religion plays in Professor Wiley's portrayal of the gentleman's life. When he does turn to consideration of it in one of the concluding chapters, the average gentleman's religion seems more a matter of tradition than of profound belief. The contemporary criticism of the established Church, he concludes, "was upsetting in many ways for the sixteenth-century gentleman of France, who was in most cases not deeply religious, but would have preferred to have his traditional religion, which was Catholic, left undisturbed" (p. 214).

WALLACE K. FERGUSON

New York University

Mary Tudor. By H. F. M. Prescott. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1953. Pp. xii, 439. $5.00.)

This is a tale of high tragedy—one that is finely told and with such conviction and such artistry that the reader's attention and emotions are thoroughly engaged. It is a tale of Queen Mary Tudor, a lonely English woman of a political aptitude inadequate for the loftiness of her dignity, who lacked councillors in whom she could trust and who yet was forced to take grave and unhappy decisions which she knew must frequently increase that already great unpopularity which only the strength of her Christian character enabled her to bear. This lengthy account of her reign is dominated by the themes of conscientiousness, indecision, and unhappiness, themes so admirably inlaid in their sixteenth-century setting that the whole tragedy is distinguished with a noble and satisfying intensity.

For us the reign has inevitably been depreciated by our view of the subsequent Elizabethan age, for, as it were, to use a contemporary similitude, "The glow worm shows the matin to be near and 'gins to pale his ineffectual fire." There are hints of this depreciation throughout the book, hints of the coming reign of Elizabeth, a reign which was to be really successful, unhampered by any scruples of conscience. "If the Queen [Mary], confused and discouraged in the task to which she had set her heart, did not feel jealousy for the girl of twenty [Elizabeth], poised, confident, subtle . . . she was more than human. Elizabeth too had a knowledge of life beyond that of her elder sister whose reputation had never been blown upon: even if the girl's relations with Seymour had been regrettable, even if they had been scandalous, yet they had

given her experience . . ." (p. 210). "[Mary] was no hard bargainer with a relish for barefaced lies like her father [Henry VIII]; no practitioner in airy and exquisite diplomatic strategy like her sister [Elizabeth]" (p. 219). And again "Already in Mary's lifetime there were signs of what was to come . . . the first stirrings of that great outburst of adventurous commercial enterprise which filled the reign of Elizabeth with a record of greed, daring, and noble self-sacrifice" (p. 382). The failure of Mary is too often seen as an enhancement of the success of Elizabeth.

It is to be remembered, however, that Elizabeth was able to reap the harvest of some of Mary's sowings. This was notably the case in the improved financial policy of Mary's reign. This might reasonably have been emphasized in a work of this kind. The studies published thirty years ago by Frederick C. Dietz, which provide the standard work on the finances of the reign, are not included in Miss Prescott's bibliography. Moreover, the publication in 1953 of Father Philip Hughes' second volume of his *Reformation in England* must cause some portions of Miss Prescott's book, notably the attitude of Cardinal Pole to the church properties confiscated under Henry VIII and Edward VI, to be reassessed.

There is, however, reason for complaint with the author for the looseness of her idea of conscience. Miss Prescott seems to have in mind the still small voice of romantic writers, and not that practical judgment of the understanding guided by Christian principles, which is conscience for Christian moralists. For she writes that with Mary "Conscience took the place of judgment, and, applied to policy, conscience is a deceivable and deceiving guide unless it is enlightened by a quick and sensitive imagination" (p. 186). And again when she declares "[Conscience] was perhaps a crazy measure to apply to policy . . . but it was, and is, a measure neither mean nor low" (p. 292).

Miss Prescott brings out very clearly how the ferocious aggressiveness of a small group of Protestants both in England and overseas increasingly and unhappily forced Mary and her government into greater efforts to repress heresy. "Diseases desperate grown by desperate appliance are relieved, or not at all." Though in the eyes of the world the reign of Mary Tudor is regarded as a sad and sorry time for England, yet she is surely to be regarded as a great Catholic queen, for her five years' rule so clearly bears out the truth of the statement that she made to four of the members of her government in March, 1556: "I set more by the salvation of my soul than by ten kingdoms" (p. 323).

Mary Tudor is a revised and enlarged edition of a book first published in 1940 with the title of *Spanish Tudor*. Since that time Miss Prescott has published also the very notable historical novel *The Man on a Donkey*. There are abundant references throughout *Mary Tudor* to the authorities

on which the book is based, and there is a good bibliography. Unfortunately, as a result of the great length of the biography, the publishers have used an unduly small type.

ERIC MCDERMOTT

Georgetown University

Members of the Long Parliament. By D. Brunton and D. H. Pennington. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xxi, 256. $4.25.)

Of the making of books concerning the English civil war of the 1640's there is, it would seem, no end. Yet the period possesses a lasting fascination, and is so richly documented that it cannot be easily exhausted. Certainly this book shows that there are still many aspects of it which await fuller investigation and understanding. This may seem a very negative verdict to pass on a work which is by any standards most competent, but it is one which, I feel sure, the authors would agree is fair and descriptive.

For some time, social rather than constitutional developments have been the main preoccupation of historians. It is remarkable how many social historians of the Civil War have tended to read into it their own presuppositions. The long-dominant Whig tradition in English history has led to the Civil War being interpreted as a conflict between "a monarchy supported by a feudal aristocracy on the one side and on the other an aspiring bourgeoisie." More recently, Marxists have emphasized the factor of the class struggle in what is, however, basically the same analysis. To test this analysis by an examination of the personalities on either side is the task set themselves by the authors of this volume.

When so many persons are involved we cannot, of course, expect a closely-documented study of each based on primary sources. We do, however, get sufficient to enable us to be quite confident of the reliability of the general picture. The result, though negative, is most interesting. It is, in brief, that, testing the people on both sides on the basis of origin, position, and functions in society, we find very much the same kind of people on the side of king and parliament. In his introduction, R. H. Tawney describes the idea of the conflict as one between feudal nobility and bourgeoisie as a "venerable legend." Here is chapter and verse to prove it such.

There can be no denying, I think, that the legend is proved such on the evidence of this work. The authors handle their material competently and express their conclusions carefully and modestly. The danger that the reader may get lost in the details of the discussion is much lessened by the admirable tabular classification of the members of parliament

(Appendices I, V, VI). There is, in any case, little doubt of the general conclusion. While it is largely negative, it is important. It shows the vital importance of local and family interests in mid-seventeenth-century England, and gives point to the warning that "until we know more of these things it is well to be very guarded in explanations of the causes and consequences of the Revolution." It also seems to suggest—though the authors do not develop the point—that in these explanations the constitutional historian may again get a hearing as having an important contribution to make.

PATRICK J. CORISH

St. Patrick's College
Maynooth

English Historical Documents. Volume VIII, *1660-1714.* Edited by Andrew Browning. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1953. Pp. xxxii, 966. $17.50.)

This second volume to appear in the series of *English Historical Documents* confirms the impression made by its predecessor (Volume II, *1042-1189*). We have again a very substantial volume, conceived on a much more generous scale than the usual book of source materials, painstakingly edited, scrupulously printed, and equipped with a series of most helpful bibliographies. The book is more than a mere teaching aid; it is a significant addition to the literature on the period which it covers, and the series as a whole promises to be the most notable contribution to the study of English history since the volumes of the *Oxford History of England* began to appear some twenty years ago.

In a series of this sort it is obvious that the task of selection must grow more difficult as the volumes approach the modern age and the mass of available (and inviting) material becomes more and more overwhelming. It is hard to see how any editor could have fulfilled, even in such an ample volume, the publishers' hope that the series will provide "an authoritative and comprehensive *corpus* of evidence" instead of merely "a restricted number of selected extracts." Professor Browning has apparently not allowed himself to be inhibited by attempting any such impossible task. Indeed, on some constitutional cases of outstanding importance (e.g., Godden v. Hales and the Seven Bishops' Case) the reader will find a much more adequate "*corpus* of evidence" in the old and excellent, but much slighter work of Grant Robertson, *Select Statutes, Cases and Documents.* The distinction of the present work lies in the fact that, though the editor has contented himself for the most part with relatively brief "selected

extracts," he has drawn them from a much wider range of sources and has used them to illustrate a much greater variety of topics than is usual in books of this sort.

In one respect, perhaps, this volume falls below the level of its predecessor; the editor's introduction attempts nothing but a bare summary of the political history of the period. It is written in an able if uninspired fashion, but hardly serves adequately to introduce the rich material that follows. (There are, however, additional paragraphs of introduction at the beginning of each separate section.) The first two sections, devoted to king and parliament, cover the usual ground in dealing with the major constitutional questions. The more important statutes are printed at length, and there is a particularly successful treatment of the development of political parties; the extracts presented convey very aptly the atmosphere of faction and patronage from which the Whig and Tory Parties emerged. In subsequent pages the editor ranges over almost the whole field of national life. The selections on local government and social life are ingeniously chosen to recreate the texture of day-to-day living under the last Stuarts (Scotland and Ireland are treated separately and adequately). Economic affairs are covered in sections on public finance and on trade and plantations; there are sections on the army and navy, on foreign relations, and on ecclesiastical affairs. Here, the Catholic reader may wish that the editor had found it possible to include some material illustrating the attitude and aspirations of the English Catholics of the period. To conclude the work, the editor has had the happy idea of providing a series of contemporary comments on the personalities of the leading figures of the age.

Every reader of an anthology of this sort will have his own personal preferences, will wish that this or that favorite passage had been included; but there should be little criticism of the editor's general judgment, and none, surely, of his industry. Students of the seventeenth century must be grateful to Professor Browning for a work that is accurate, nearly always adequate—and often much more than that.

BRIAN TIERNEY

The Catholic University of America

Robe and Sword: The Regrouping of the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV. By Franklin L. Ford. [Harvard Historical Studies, LXIV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1953. Pp. xii, 280. $6.00.)

In this study Dr. Ford, assistant professor of European history at Harvard University, has examined the efforts of the French aristocracy

to reassert themselves after the death of Louis XIV in 1715. His analysis of this challenging historical period is both stimulating and conscientious. In the development of his subject, Professor Ford illustrates that the French aristocracy, at this time, was not only concerned with its position in relation to the monarchy, but also subject to an interesting readjustment in its own ranks. Distinctions, generally summarized in the terms "noblesse de robe" and "noblesse de l'épée," were still sufficiently sharp in 1715 to be a significant political factor. The robe nobility had gained prominence through their magistracy in the sovereign courts, while the latter group maintained prestige through the more traditional prerogatives of titled aristocracy. In the first years of the Orleans regency, the dukes and peers, as the highest ranking aristocrats, were the first to assert themselves. However, having become involved in controversies over such secondary matters as questions of prestige, they proved incapable of ensuring effective governmental policy. By the end of 1718 power had reverted to ministers chosen by the regent.

Under these circumstances, the magistrates became increasingly active as defenders of the privileged interests of the nobility. Professor Ford presents detailed evidence to show that, in addition to augmenting the power and pretensions of their office, they were gaining strength in other ways. For example, by the early eighteenth century the overwhelming majority had already achieved considerable wealth, not only through the capital value of their hereditary office and concomitant professional income, but also by shrewd investments in urban and rural property. Such holdings not infrequently conferred additional title to nobility. Since, over a period of generations, robe families had inter-married with the older aristocracy, they were in a position to gain many military and ecclesiastical distinctions. It is the author's conclusion that by 1748 the high robe nobility had become the recognized leaders of the aristocracy. In that same year, Montesquieu, a descendant of an old "robe" family, crystallized this ascendancy with the publication of *The Spirit of Laws*, which formulated his doctrine of checks upon the absolute monarchy.

The basic ideas for *Robe and Sword* were contained originally in the author's doctoral thesis. A year of post-doctoral research in France on a Harvard Sheldon Fellowship and a grant from the Social Sciences Research Council gave him the opportunity to examine provincial archives. Accordingly, the authoritative value of this work has been considerably enhanced by his diligent and judicious utilization of these sources.

PAUL R. LOCHER

Georgetown University

Pan-Slavism: Its History and Ideology. By Hans Kohn. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1953. Pp. x, 356. $6.25.)

The book of Professor Kohn consists of an introduction and three chapters. The first chapter, "Pan-Slavism and the West (1815-1860)," discusses romanticism and realism among Czechs and Slovaks, romanticism and messianism among the Poles, the Illyrian movement, the Prague Congress of 1848, and gives their European background with all attendant problems of foreign policy. The second chapter is entitled "Pan-Slavism and the West (1860-1905)." Including a survey of the Slavophiles and their idea of Russia's mission, it treats of the Moscow Congress of 1867, the repercussions of the unification of Germany on Pan-Slavism, and finally the problem of Russia and Europe. The third chapter, "Pan-Slavism and the World Wars (1905-1950)," analyzes Neo-Pan-Slavism before World War I, the triumph of the west Slavs after World War I and the triumph of the east Slavs after World War II. The presentation is ended with a short "Conclusion." Besides the above, the book contains very extensive "Notes" to all the chapters (pp. 253-335), a statistical survey of the Slavs as of 1950, a bibliography (pp. 335-348), and an index.

Among American historians Professor Kohn has unique qualifications for this kind of research: a knowledge of Slavic languages, literatures, and history, and an extraordinary ability—even mastery—in the presentation of Slavic questions linked with general European problems. As an outline of Pan-Slavism and Pan-Russianism, the work is excellent and objective; it will surely become a handbook for the proper understanding not only of Russian history but also of current international affairs, especially of the crucial nationality problems inside the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence. For the younger generation of historians the excellent "notes" with the bibliography are a real mine of topics for special research.

There are, however, in this pioneer work a few shortcomings. I fear the subtitle, "The Triumph of the East Slavs after World War II," is rather confusing because it is essentially a triumph of Pan-Russianism. I object to the words, "Russia in her Kievan period" (pp. 104, 239), because the Kievan Rus (Chaucer used for it the excellent term Ruce) is not equivalent with Russia. Also the statistics of East Slavs need a revision.

Professor Kohn has traveled rather a long way from his *Nationalism in the Soviet Union* (London, 1933), through *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1944), until he reached the scholarly objectivity which is shown in this book. As an old ideological opponent I should like to acknowledge this change. Students of Slavic history in the United States should be deeply grateful to Professor Waldemar Gurian and the University of Notre Dame Press for the publication of this important work and

for promoting unbiased and impartial research. The publications of the Notre Dame Press already offer a splendid contrast to those of some centers of "Russian research."

ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI

Marquette University

French Public Opinion on War and Diplomacy during the Second Empire. By Lynn M. Case. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 339. $6.00.)

This is the second study of public opinion by Dr. Case, the first appearing in 1936 under the title *French Opinion on the United States and Mexico, 1860-1867*. The present volume is very heavily based on an analysis of the reports of the "procureurs généraux." These reports, Dr. Case states, are completely reliable and do not attempt to twist public utterance in favor of the Emperor Napoleon III. In several instances, government reporters were rebuked for being too lenient in their criticism as reflected by the inhabitants of their area. These reports came into Paris at regular intervals, were analyzed, and composite reports were drawn up. The second major source of public opinion during this period are the prefect reports. Unfortunately, these are not available in full since those covering the period between September, 1859, and November, 1865, have been either lost or destroyed. A third avenue of approach to a study of this nature is the reports sent to the home governments by the foreign consular and diplomatic agents stationed in France. Since these officials relied for the most part on official, semi-official, and "free" journals of Paris, they are not too reliable. The press throughout France, which in most countries presents a good cross section of public opinion, can hardly be used for a study of the Second Empire. It was not until the fall of 1868 that the government relieved the press of a great deal of pressure. Thus some attention is given to a study of this medium for the period immediately preceding the Franco-Prussian War.

Dr. Case has more than sampled the major sources of information in his endeavor to test the reactions of the French populace, but, as stated above, the chief reliance was placed on the reports of the "procureurs généraux." It remains to be proved, however, just how accurate these so-called "polls" are. We have today any number of public opinion testing agencies which are constantly attempting to evaluate public opinion. They have proved wrong, and there is no abundant evidence available of the validity of their findings in any case. Of course, Professor Case has resorted to time-tested methods of scientific investigation and he has spent long hours pouring over musty records. He has neglected nothing in his

efforts to arrive at a fair understanding of the force of public opinion on diplomatic problems during the Second Empire. In spite of this, the reviewer wonders just how accurate are his findings; or to put it another way, just how accurate are the sources that he has used in reflecting public opinion? In attempting a study of this nature, particularly during a regime of close censorship, it is more than difficult to arrive at a true picture of public opinion. On reading this book, one can note an undercurrent of uneasiness on this very point. In this light the author states that Napoleon III ". . . set up a thorough and continuous system of collecting information on public opinion . . ." (page 6). The government may have gotten honest reports from its servants, but there still remains a serious area of doubt as to the volubility of the public in front of public officials. There persists that feeling that Dr. Case hopes these reports are adequate for his work.

The book covers all the major diplomatic events of the Second Empire: the Crimean War; the Austro-Sardinian War; the Roman Question; the Polish Insurrection and Danish War; the Austro-Prussian War; the Franco-Prussian War. The format is generally the same for each of the events treated. There is a short history of the background of the incident, a sampling of public reaction during the course of the crisis, and an evaluation. The author has done an admirable job in his treatment of a most difficult subject. His scholarship is sound, his efforts painstaking. The shortcomings of the work are no fault of his. He used the sources of information that were at his disposal and extended great efforts to correctly evaluate them. The failings are minor. There is an over-simplification of the causes of the crises, and, secondly, the volume is not too readable. In the last two chapters the author warms up a bit and executes an excellent literary piece that is entirely absorbing.

DONALD R. PENN

Georgetown University

Carson: The Life of Sir Edward Carson, Lord Carson of Duncairn. By H. Montgomery Hyde (London and Toronto: Wm. Heinemann. 1953. Pp. 515. 25s.)

Edward Henry Carson (1854-1935) was the son of a Dublin Protestant middle class family into which there had married a socially superior daughter of a Galway squire named Lambert. He started his career as an effective lawyer in jury cases. His advocacy of tenants' cases before the land court successfully secured the reduction of rents and showed that he was not lacking in ability to impress the bench. He also impressed

the landlords, and soon these made a practice of retaining him against their tenants. It was not long until he attracted the notice of Dublin Castle; and under the patronage of two famous Catholic law officers, Peter O'Brien and Christopher Palles, he was given an opportunity to display his gifts as a crown prosecutor in the regime of coercion introduced by Balfour in 1887. Before the unionists went out he had risen to be solicitor general, member of parliament for the University of Dublin, and had been knighted.

Sir Edward in parliament proved a valuable supporter of attempts to block home rule. Meanwhile he was building up a great reputation in sensational jury cases at the English bar. After 1906 an era of bitterness entered into British politics which was not dispelled until after the outbreak of World War I. Overwhelmed in the political landslide, the tories resisted bitterly every liberal measure which would appear to weaken their chances of return to office. The land tax budget, the restriction of the veto of the House of Lords, the proposed restoration of the Irish parliament, were each fought with a new vigor and frenzy. The unionists lacked leadership, but the small contingent of Irish opponents of home rule struck oil when they elected Carson. The slow, diffident, and almost neurotic advocate, who could win nearly every case by giving it all his attention, was well aware that he had not the gifts that make a prime minister, but he accepted the leadership of the Irish Unionist Party and destroyed the home rule movement. Yet he always insisted he was an Irishman and, if only for loyalty to old friends, took up the cause of Irish Catholic university education, which was successful in securing the foundation of the National University of Ireland.

Carson's particular contribution to the political movement he led was the elaboration of the private army, the identification of British unionism with Ulster resistance to home rule, and the exclusion of six counties in northeast Ireland from the jurisdiction of the subsequently independent Irish state. It is doubtful if any of these ideas originated with him, but he undoubtedly showed a remarkable flair for battle once he saw a means to penetrate his opponents' defenses. He was not far-sighted and did not always realize that his own weapons could be turned upon his friends. In his primary object of maintaining the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland he was defeated by an Irish physical force movement designed in imitation of the Ulster Volunteers. By rousing the feelings of unionists in Britain to a boiling point he created a cold war condition which deluded Germany into believing that Belgium could be invaded with impunity in August, 1914. By transferring the home rule struggle from parliament to the drilling field he convinced a greater number of his Irish opponents that only by revolution could Ireland's political self-determination be secured. His last public utterances, despite his honors,

wealth, and successes, reveal the bitterness of one who felt disillusioned by the course events had taken, and who feared British pressure in 1921 might lead to a thirty-two county republic. Today the forces which he strengthened are among the great problems confronting those who seek European union and Atlantic solidarity. And even the disastrous effect upon the Christian churches of association with a militant movement, such as his was, seems in danger of being forgotten.

In writing this biography Dr. Hyde has been able to utilize previous publications such as *Ulster's Stand for Union* by Ronald McNeill (later Lord Cushendun), Carson biographies including those by Edward Marjoribanks (1932) and Ian Colvin (1934-1936) and the sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography* by Sir Douglas Savory. Most of these studies have been partly autobiographical as their subject freely co-operated in the compilation of those which appeared in his lifetime. In fact, the autobiographical element has been their main value to historians as they err in inadequate reference to other data and do not pretend to see things from any viewpoint but that of their subject. They present the leader in a heroic mould, where all his friends are in shining armor, and his adversaries—also appropriately arrayed—in outer darkness. They are the makers of the Carson myth; architect of Protestant Ulster indissolubly linked to Britain and the empire, for this he struggled and suffered, even if he did not die.

Dr. Hyde is no novice to literature and history. A Belfast man, he graduated in history at Queen's and at Oxford. In 1933 he published a study of the early career of Lord Castlereagh which, if not original or objective, was painstaking, moderate, and constructive. If it suggested an absence of critical ability and followed fairly close the pattern of articles by Caesar Litton Falkiner, it was not lacking in evidence of the author's anxiety to be regarded as a scholar, and the use of the Londenderry archives suggested he was in a position to bring to light fresh material. Since his *Castlereagh* Mr. Hyde has written popular works (some with members of the family of Londonderry), seen service in World War II, dabbled in diplomacy, and secured a seat in the British parliament for Carson's old constituency at Duncairn. In the present study he has sought, on the occasion of the centenary of his subject's birth, to present a popular biography which would revive interest while not failing to contribute to scholarly knowledge by utilizing hitherto unprinted material, notably a collection of letters from Carson to Lady Londonderry. The result is a book, genial if clever, though also superficial and heavy, which is not without merit, though it is unlikely to appeal to any but the true believers. While the Londonderry letters reveal a little more of Carson than we already knew, they are hardly satisfying, and for the rest the author has been content to adopt the pattern of the

Marjoribanks-Colvin lives, with the omission of some revealing speeches and with suitable adjustments for the younger generation. Thus Mr. Hyde even fails to render these works redundant, despite his own 515 pages.

Carson, we learn, was a great lawyer and a great statesman, but no attempt is made to assess his legal or political qualities. The hero wins, and so justice is vindicated (his opponents are not treated with complete ignominy, but they are usually "notorious," "excitable," "socially inferior," "irresponsible." The author, however, might well consider that his main purpose was achieved if he had succeeded in presenting Carson to the public as the immortal father of the liberties of Protestant Ulster. If he desired, however, to attempt this in a moderate manner he has not succeeded in resisting the temptations to sneer at Irish political opponents as "wild men" or even to omit inconvenient evidence. Carson's earlier biographers—and notably Colvin—did not conceal his regret at the failure of his primary effort—the maintenance of the union. Hyde's subject is more closely identified with Ulster self-determination; if the British insouciance of Marjoribanks can be derided and his minor errors pedantically corrected, the ultimate picture may be less un-Irish, but it is hardly the more realistic. The delicate question of Carson's relations with Lord Middleton and with other southern unionists is discreetly veiled—not roughly handled as it was by the earlier writers. And when letters quoted by Marjoribanks and Colvin appear with sentences omitted, one cannot regard the omission marks in the letters quoted from the Londonderry archives without question. We get a hint of differences with, and rebukes from, Lady Londonderry, but hardly any indication of the reason why.

Mr. Hyde is content to present his subject in a mid-twentieth-century version of the Carson of legend. Is it the effect of party discipline which makes it difficult to utilise the publications of those whose national and political creeds are different from his own? There is no word of the Protestant Irish tradition represented by W. S. Armour in *Armour of Ballymoney* (1934); R. M. Henry, *Evolution of Sinn Fein* (1920); Stephen Gwynn, *John Redmond's Last Years* (1919); J. W. Good, *Ulster and Ireland* (1919); and *Irish Unionism* (1920). English historians significantly omitted include J. B. Hammond's *Gladstone and the Irish Nation* (1938) and R. C. K. Ensor, *England, 1870-1914* (1936). American scholars who could well have claimed attention are Professor F. Lee Benns, *The Irish Question, 1912-1914* (1928), and J. Dunsmore Clarkson, *Labour and Nationalism in Ireland* (1925). Above all, why omit the invaluable bibliographies of James Carty's *Bibliography of Irish History* I *(1912-1921)* (1936), II *(1870-1911)* (1940) and the pertinent study by Professor Nicholas Mansergh, *The Government of Northern Ireland* (1936)?

Even in the case of works cited, there are instances where Mr. Hyde appears to consider that by sticking his head into the sand he can ignore inconvenient evidence. Did he, perhaps, find that some issues were a little embarrassing? Or was it easier to respect the vague generalisations of his predecessors than to probe more deeply? One cannot help feeling that a good opportunity has been missed. The author is, perhaps, in some ways the literary executor of Ulster particularism. On the occasion of Carson's centenary he could have secured for himself the gratitude of the scholarly public if he had undertaken an edition of the letters and speeches of Carson—unexpurgated and unannotated. Or he might have taken up some particular aspects—the turning points in the law cases, or the crises in the political struggles, wherein the real character of his subject would emerge more clearly. In some ways he underestimates the intelligence of the ordinary reader who prefers to draw his own conclusions on a man's attitude from his public and private utterances. The wise propagandist, the skilled teacher, even the dry-as-dust historian, should avoid over-emphasis if there is any likelihood of over-reaching himself with his public. Carson was, perhaps, less extreme, less uncompromising, less unco-operative than this book suggests. If those who feel about him as Mr. Hyde appears to feel are anxious to perpetuate his memory, they should endeavor to secure a series of studies of his influence upon the great institutions of his time—the Catholic, Protestant Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Methodist Churches in Ireland, the unionist, liberal, nationalist, socialist, and Irish separatist parties, to mention but a few. From these it should be possible to make a reasonably competent source assessment that would justify the publication of a new Carson biography. Is there any reason why Mr. Hyde would be disqualified from taking a part in this?

R. Dudley Edwards

National University of Ireland

Storia del partito popolare italiano. By Stefano Jacini. (Milan: Aldo Garzanti. 1951. Pp. xvi, 345. 1,000 L.)

Signor Jacini's book is an outstanding contribution to the study of the political sociology of European parties. The importance of the work is emphasized by three facts: the author himself—besides being an accomplished student of politics—had held a position of considerable importance in the movement he later undertook to describe and analyze. Father Luigi Sturzo, the founder and guiding spirit of the Partito popolare italiano (PPI), wrote a preface to the book which in itself is worth reading; it is

replete with important political observations. Finally, Signor de Gasperi was not only the *spiritus rector* of this volume but he also personally revised it. Jacini's book, which at the time of its writing seemed to have academic and historical interest only, has again become politically important; *mutatis mutandis* the present Italian political scene shows many features similar to those of the period 1919-1921.

What political forces were dominant in Italy after World War I and what were the ideas which inspired Father Sturzo to organize PPI? Two major blocs had emerged as the rallying points of Italian political life after the war: the liberal and the socialist forces. The former were dedicated to a fighting anti-clerical creed and to the promotion of an all-out secular state. Their philosophical background was a mixture of nineteenth-century freethinking, of political agnosticism, and of the traditions of Latin individualism. On the other hand, the socialist forces were dedicated to the overthrow of the existing social order by evolutionary and/or by violent means. Their philosophical background was partly Marxian and partly anarcho-syndicalist. And it is well to remember that Mussolini's theory and practice of action—as he himself admitted—were firmly based on these systems of thought. The power sources of the liberal forces were primarily to be found in the financial potency of, and in the position and status held by many of their members. The socialist groups, in turn, rested their case primarily on the appeal of their social myth which they—rather successfully—dangled before the eyes of the people, and on the mass following organized by them on this basis.

The Italian liberal and socialist blocs had no platform whatsoever common to them and they were unable to establish any higher level of harmony on which conciliation with regard to practical problems would have been possible. Between them the Italian state and the Italian people were bound to be crushed and shipwrecked. And this is the background against which Father Sturzo conceived the idea of a movement combining the "legalitarianism" of the liberal with the mass appeal of the socialist parties. The PPI was to address itself to those social strata which—for reasons of their politico-philosophical persuasion or of their social status—did not find themselves at home in either of the existing blocs. The voters of the PPI were to come from the peasants, the merchants, the small shopkeepers, the white collar, and professional people. Needless to say, the widely differing social background and the equally differing interests of the party following soon made for the emergence of two wings: one primarily interested in swift social reforms, the other in combining all the features of the sound traditions of conservatism with a realistic appraisal of the political scene. The common basis of these two factions and their guide for action was to be the set of ideas which had found expression in recent Catholic social and political thought.

The provisions of the electoral law and an organization well suited to electioneering purposes combined to give the PPI a strong representation in parliament, beclouding the fact that the people at large had not yet taken to the new organization. Essential reforms and swift action seemed to be imperative. However, neither could be achieved by a political party which needed time for the gradual emergence of a party conscience and for the development of a strong permanent organization. Into this vacuum created by the need for swift reform and the exigencies of parliamentary life stepped an extra-parliamentary group steeped in the thought of Sorel's call to action.

Although Italian political developments cut short the life of PPI the movement retained its importance as the first modern incorporation of the ideas which after World War II re-emerged in the various European Christian democratic parties.

WILLIAM H. ROBERTS

The Catholic University of America

The Great Powers and Eastern Europe. By John A. Lukacs. (New York: American Book Co. 1953. Pp. xii, 878. $7.50.)

This is a detailed history of East Central Europe (rather misleadingly called Central-eastern Europe) during World War II, including the origin of the European crisis from 1934. All thirteen countries which existed in that crucial area before 1936 are treated as a whole, in connection with the policy of the great powers which proved decisive for their destinies. Followed by a short epilogue which is a highly original survey of the years 1946-1952, the story is preceded by an introduction which goes back to 1917; the very title of that first part, "The Illusion of Independence," is as controversial as are various interpretations of that summary. But the four main parts of the book deserve unreserved praise and are without any doubt the most outstanding contribution to the contemporary history of the region between Germany and Russia which has been made up to now. Brilliantly written, although, perhaps, some pages are too crowded with facts, and based upon a tremendous amount of painstaking research, this work of a Hungarian scholar who did not escape from his country to the United States until 1946, is unusually objective and, in general, very fair to all nations whose tragic fate is described with deep understanding.

The author obviously avoided repeating what had already received detailed treatment in other books. Too brief, therefore, it seems to this reviewer is the discussion of "the last days of peace," before the outbreak of the war on September 1, 1939, the decisive date which could have

served as the most natural division between Part II—the diplomatic background of the war—and Part III—the period of Nazi-Soviet co-operation. But more important is that in both of these parts, as well as in the following two which cover the events before and after the re-appearance of the Red Army within the frontiers of East Central Europe's formerly independent states, we find a wealth of new and highly important information and provocative interpretation.

Professor Lukacs has made a very exhaustive study of the available source material, and even the publications which appeared too late to be considered, e.g., the latest volumes of Churchill's memoirs and of the documents on German foreign policy, hardly affect his well balanced conclusions. Furthermore, he has used "reminiscences, conversations, and personal correspondence," which enable him to add some entirely unknown details of special interest. Although the references to such sources could not always be quite specific, the "Explanatory Notes" at the end of the volume, which cover no less than 124 pages, plus a useful "Bibliographical Note," are a real mine of information, additional comments, and qualifications which no reader should miss, in spite of the highly inconvenient technical arrangement of these notes.

Well aware of the mistakes which have been made by the western powers, and deeply regretting the "abandonment" of East Central Europe to the Soviet Union, the author leaves the reader under the impression of a gloomy vision at the end of both the main section and the epilogue of his book. But that same reader will also remain convinced that "the fate of Europe is indeed one" and that "the international significance" of the group of nations, which Professor Lukacs has so carefully studied in its present implications, has ceased to exist only temporarily, especially if the whole tradition of their past, intimately associated with the West, is taken into consideration.

OSCAR HALECKI

Fordham University

The Foreign Policy of the British Labour Government: 1945-1951. By M. A. Fitzsimons. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1953. Pp. vi, 182. $3.25.)

The author of this volume maintains that the coming to power of the Labor Party in 1945 produced no alteration in British foreign policy comparable to the important changes which it wrought in domestic politics and social life. He demonstrates convincingly that Labor's foreign policy was molded, not by the doctrinaire utterances of the party's left wingers, but by a set of forces and influences which would have operated in much

the same way upon a Conservative government, had one been in power at that time, and which for that matter had been noticeable even before the war: Britain's weakening economic position, the rising tide of nationalism in her dependencies and in many other parts of the world, the menace of European totalitarianism, and the overshadowing wealth and power of the United States.

It may be that Mr. Fitzsimons exaggerates the degree of continuity between the foreign policy of the Labor government and that of its Conservative predecessors. It would be difficult to deny, for example, that the Labor, as well as the Liberal, Party has shown less enthusiasm for asserting the control of the mother country over its dependencies than have the Conservatives. It may be doubted whether Churchill, had he been in power during the post-war years, would have washed his hands of India and Palestine as abruptly, and with as catastrophic results, as did Attlee and Bevin. Mr. Fitzsimons makes little effort to explore the important topic of British public opinion on, and public knowledge of, matters connected with foreign policy. The British traditionally pride themselves on their flexibility, realism, and skill in diplomacy, but modern history offers considerable evidence that they tend to overestimate themselves in this respect. It can be argued, on the contrary, that modern British foreign policy has been marked by a clumsiness which has tended to represent it in a worse light, and to achieve less impressive results, than it actually deserves. The British press, libraries, and universities provide their readers and students with considerably less information on international affairs than is available in at least the best of their American equivalents. In a democratic nation of weakening power but worldwide responsibilities, such a situation can have serious results.

To say that Mr. Fitzsimons could have strengthened his book by a closer analysis of certain general considerations such as this, is not to detract from its merits as a piece of solid research guided by common sense.

HAROLD C. HINTON

Georgetown University

Two Worlds for Memory. By Alfred Noyes. (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1953. Pp. 348. $5.00.)

A poet's autobiography (*La Vita Nuova,* say, or *Dichtung und Wahrheit*) is, as a fact of experience, very generally disappointing to such honest readers as wish to be told plainly what sort of person the poet was. In *Two Worlds for Memory,* Alfred Noyes has avoided the obvious

dangers. It is not likely to suffer any deep incrustation of posthumous footnotes designed to correct his chronology, or otherwise damage his credit. Even on the subject of his own poems, he may expect to do better than Shakespeare's ghost, who (it will be remembered)

> Failed in English, rather badly,
> Because he didn't know his Bradley.

Most of Noyes' comments on Noyes (supported as they are by fairly lavish quotations, especially of ephemeral or other less known pieces) will be found comfortably acceptable by sympathetic readers of the original. If at times he seems to claim too much, this is in the craft and mystery of prosody. Thus, on the subject of his own "metrical experiments," he observes that "many passages are in what is now called 'sprung rhythm', a phrase that has been used a great deal lately, though there is really nothing new about it" (pp. 185-186). Reading their verse, I should not have supposed that Hopkins' technique was at all like Noyes'. If it is, Hopkins must have thought of it first. Noyes, indeed, here asserts that "sprung rhythm" began "from the time of Shakespeare"—in a passage, however, which comes no closer to analysis than the observation that "the vital pulse of poetry" "has a precision of its own." At a certain level, these statements are really unverifiable. More generally, Noyes insists on the element of "song" which had been an essential characteristic of poetry for over two thousand years. From the days of Homer, century after century, the poets had spoken of their work as a kind of "song." The rugged Browning (no less than Homer, Virgil, Dante, Keats, and Shelley) had the same aim:

> Never may I commence my song, my due
> To God who best taught song by gift of thee,
> Except with bent head and beseeching hand (p. 86).

The thought is not developed that "song" translates *carmen*, which did not, for Virgil, Dante, or Browning, mean *chanson* ("ce qui ne vaut pas la peine d'être dit, on le chante").

It appears plainly from this book that Noyes is not only a very prolific writer indeed, but (especially since about 1914) a prominent and controversial public figure. There are elements of pose in this presentation, e.g., a resolute assumption of the part of *laudator temporis acti* or "old gentleman." Thus he rightly praises the English Shakespearian actor, Johnston Forbes-Robertson, but by reference to contemporaries: "Most of them try desperately to make it sound like prose, which is obviously not what the poet intended" (p. 283). In this role Noyes fell repeatedly foul, in the 1920's, of Edith Sitwell. Neither pulled any punches, and one is not quite sure that Noyes got the verdict. H. G. Wells, Hugh

Walpole, Thomas Hardy, Bishop Barnes, and other less famous sparring-partners were despatched in a few rounds each. Dean Inge, who opened a correspondence with a shrewd and unexpected blow, was happily disarmed—the men's wives were friends; and the chapter devoted to him is among the most attractive in the book. It includes a characteristic *profession de foi,* from a recent letter of the late dean's: "George Tyrrell once said, 'The time may come when there will be nothing left of Christianity except mysticism and charity'—I hope not 'nothing else,' but these, I think, are the indestructible bed-rock" (p. 259).

At the time of his second marriage Noyes became a Catholic; fortunate in this matter, as in so much else, he could combine the fervor of a neophyte with the graces of hereditary Catholicism among his wife's people. Besides, the candor and simplicity which inform all his work and which illuminate the present collection of reminiscences predisposed him to a hearty acceptance of the true religion of mankind. Wherever his combative instincts were not aroused, we find him on the look-out for vestiges of grace among even the least likely of his fellowmen—e.g., in Swinburne and, notoriously, in Voltaire.

The same quality of innocence may excuse what would otherwise spoil this book for fastidious readers, viz., an incessant flow of generally trivial anecdotes about persons more or less in the public eye: J. B. Priestley, Augustus John, Lord Jellicoe, Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Princess Beatrice, and Lady Asquith, for example to mention only old world characters.

NIGEL J. ABERCROMBIE

London, England

AMERICAN HISTORY

Harvard Guide to American History. By Oscar Handlin, Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Samuel Eliot Morison, Frederick Merk, Arthur Meier Schlesinger, Jr., and Paul Herman Buck. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 689. $10.00.)

This monumental work is an expanded, improved, and modernized version of its illustrious predecessor, *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* (Boston, 1912) by Edward Channing, Albert Bushnell Hart, and Frederick Jackson Turner. Each of the six compilers—authors of the new guide—is a respected member of the historical fraternity—five are Pulitzer Prize winners. Their handiwork is, truly, a comprehensive guide to the entire field of American history, and the emphasis

is upon the thousands of books and articles which have been contributed to the field of historical scholarship during the past forty years.

The first portion (226 pp.) of the work consists of sixty-six essays dealing with the methods, materials, and resources of American history. The essays are followed by relevant suggestions for further investigation and by lists of guides, resources, collections, or selected items. The brief essay (one-half page of ten-point type) entitled "Books of Travel and Description," e.g., is followed by an alphabetical listing (eight-point type) of 380 of the "best and most representative travels," divided into four chronological eras. The essay entitled "Biographies" is followed by a list of nearly 850 "highly selective" lives of notable Americans. Many of the essays, like the ones entitled "History of American History" and "History as a Literary Art," are lucidly written and are excellent summaries. Editors, teachers, students, and librarians will find these essays centered around the writing and studying of American history of great value and the appended aids especially important.

The second portion of the work (293 pp.) consists of a long series of "exhaustive bibliographical guides." The organizational pattern parallels that of the usual survey text in American history. The compilers of the *Harvard Guide to American History* have divided the 1492-1950 era into twenty-five major areas or chapters and these are sub-divided into appropriate topics. For each topic there is a summary of the subtopics as well as a listing of general, special, source or primary, and bibliographical aids. Important articles which appeared in learned journals as well as books (chapters often cited) are listed. "With occasional exceptions," state the editors, "December 31, 1950 has been the terminal date for publications [listed]." More than 70,000 bibliographical references are included in this worthy work. Every historian will wonder why some articles or books have been included or omitted. This reviewer, for example, wonders why Henry C. Warmouth, *War, Politics and Reconstruction* (1930) and John W. DeForest, *A Union Officer in the Reconstruction* (1948) were omitted from the chapter entitled "Liquidation of the Civil War, 1805-1880." But it would be petty to criticize the compilers' choice of items in a work as splendid and comprehensive as this or to criticize the organizational pattern.

The third portion (143 pp. of seven-point type) of the work is devoted to the author-subject index—a tremendous project in itself. The Belknap Press (a subsidiary of the Harvard University Press) deserves the highest praise for an exceptional job of book-making.

The publishers claim that the *Harvard Guide to American History* is "the most important work in the field of American history and civilization to be published in years, and it will so remain for a long time." This reviewer will not quarrel with that contention, and adds that this monu-

mental work is a MUST on the shelves of every library and historian deserving of the name. It will be invaluable to the research scholar, to teachers interested in methodology and historiography, to college students preparing term papers, and to librarians.

FRANK L. KLEMENT

Marquette University

Encyclopedia of American History. Edited by Richard B. Morris. (New York: Harper and Bros. 1953. Pp. xv, 776. $6.00.)

Students and teachers of history have long been in need of a book such as this encyclopedia purports to be—"a handy volume" providing "the essential historical facts about American life and institutions." In the "facts" of American history the editor and his ten consultants include the dates, events, achievements, and persons involved in social, economic, and cultural as well as in political and military development. While thus comprehensive in scope, the work, nevertheless, puts the emphasis on conventional history, devoting considerably more than half its pages to the political and military aspects of the nation's past. Basic chronology and topical chronology, Parts I and II, are the terms used to embrace the facts of political and non-political history respectively. In both sections the material is arranged in a time sequence of major topics, with subdivisions, beginning in basic chronology with "Original Peopling of the Americas" and ending with "The United States and World Reconstruction since 1945." The treatment in this part is remarkably full, notably the year-by-year listings from 1763.

While annual coverage is inapplicable to topical chronology, the time sequence is, nevertheless, faithfully adhered to in the presentation of twenty-three significant aspects of American life under the general headings: "The Expansion of the Nation," "Population and Immigration," "The Constitution and the Supreme Court," "The American Economy," "Science and Invention," and "Thought and Culture." There are some unfortunate omissions. Cities do not appear among either the major or minor topics even though many historians have found in urban development a key organizing principle. Philosophy, in its speculative and social aspects, is also ignored. Although religion is covered, the facts listed do not suggest the lines of its inner development or indicate its influence. On this, as perhaps on other topics, the *Encyclopedia* fails in its intended "endeavors to incorporate the results of the latest research."

Part III of the book contains biographies of 300 notable Americans, living and dead, who won "top-level achievement" in the "major fields of activity." These are exacting criteria, suspended for presidents of the United States, all of whom are included, and arbitrarily applied in the selection of other prominent figures. Thus among railroad builders James J. Hill is included while Cornelius Vanderbilt is omitted; among economists Richard T. Ely, who influenced a whole generation of scholars and reformers, is sidetracked in favor of Thorstein Veblen who appealed mainly to socialists and social scientists. Should not Louis Agassiz find a place on any list of distinguished American scientists? Is it not barely conceivable that Francis Asbury and John Carroll were greater religious leaders than Theodore Parker or Phillips Brooks? Is Samuel Gompers the only labor leader entitled to a place among the 300 most distinguished Americans? Is Adlai Stevenson as great a statesman as Robert F. Wagner, the legislative architect of the New Deal labor program? Harlan F. Stone is not listed among the lawyers and jurists but his biography is, in fact, inserted in the appropriate alphabetical position—one of several slight errors detected by the reviewer in his perusal of the volume.

Despite the necessarily arbitrary character of the selections, the biographies themselves are models of accuracy, condensation, and clarity. The same admirable presentation is characteristic of the volume as a whole. Especially meritorious is the skill of the editor in avoiding monotonous and meaningless cataloguing (with a few exceptions as in the section on music) and in maintaining a readable narrative from beginning to end. The *Encyclopedia of American History* is history in capsule form; it bristles with thumbnail descriptions and with summary tables and outlines. Its thirty-two maps and charts are only less illuminating. The index contains some 6,000 entries, about equally divided between persons and events.

AARON I. ABELL

University of Notre Dame

The New Dictionary of American History. Edited by Michael Martin and Leonard Gelber. (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1954. Pp. vi, 695. $10.00.)

It is conceivable that one might make a commendable digest of a novel or biography for the pages of the *Reader's Digest* but it would be dangerous to attempt the same task with a dictionary. Care must be taken not to digest into vacuity nor to omit in the interests of breviy, topics which should not be left out. The work under consideration has apparently tried to digest into desk size the *Dictionary of American History* and the *Dic-*

tionary of American Biography. The authors forewarn that in attempting "to provide a ready reference source of the subject matter of American history" they had to face "many serious problems of selection and emphasis," and that in consequence "it will be easy for the reader to question the omission of a given entry." While recognizing the inherent difficulties in the task, this reviewer must disregard the warning. The attempt has not been marked with success.

There is danger in telescoping an evaluation of the American Federation of Labor into an organization "generally considered to be conservative and opportunistic" when that is the only evaluation offered. Recognizing the difficulties, one must still wonder at the value of a work which presents such serious dangers. Perhaps it would have been better not to have tried if so many qualifications, cautions, etc. are needed. The "Labor Movement" can hardly be adequately handled even in a dictionary in three quarters of a column. And the ghost of Horatio Alger—and he was influential—cannot be happy at being dismissed in six and a half lines.

There is no mention of the Milligan decision of the Supreme Court which was considered important enough to merit representation on the Freedom Train a few years ago. Students of the New Deal will be understandably surprised to find no distinction between the early and later phases of that movement. Cardozo needs to have more said about him than that he was a "Philosophical jurist in the liberal tradition." Orestes Brownson merits at least a mention of his chief book, *The American Republic*. And instead of the not-too-important reminder that Columbia University is situated in upper New York City it would have been more useful to add to the four short sentences a few of the historical facts—if only in capsule form—about the institution which link it with two centuries of American history. And readers of the REVIEW will note the absence of many figures and events in American Catholic history with justified historical concern.

Doubtless the task was immense and the compendium may serve in reference rooms as a handy introduction to an unknown or little known personage or event. But too much has been omitted, condensed, or telescoped. The worth of the manual to the historian seems hardly to compensate for the risks. Although different in format and method of coverage the *Encyclopedia of American History* (edited by Richard B. Morris) would seem to serve the needs of a handy reference manual more adequately. The price, too, of the *New Dictionary of American History* seems prohibitive.

JOHN M. DALEY

Georgetown University

Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America, 1524-1763. By Henry Folmer. (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1953. Pp. 352. $10.00.)

In this volume, a typically beautiful Arthur H. Clark publication, Dr. Folmer traces with special emphasis on international diplomacy the Franco-Spanish phase of the three-cornered conflict for territorial aggrandizement in North America. This struggle, as is well known, marked both the era of discovery and exploration (from 1524 to roughly 1680) and the era of expansion and conflict (from about 1680 to the 1763 Treaty of Paris). The author indicates this when he states that "the days of Cortés were definitely passed in 1682" (p. 144), the year in which La Salle descended the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico, France thereby challenging Spain's holdings in the south and at the same time essaying to anticipate and thwart England's advance to the Mississippi region. The La Salle venture down the Mississippi and on the Texas coast (1682 and 1684) was really a sequel of the Jolliet expedition of 1673. This expedition revealed both to France and to England what was then a matter of controversy, viz., the fact that the "Great Water" in the West, the Mississippi, emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. At the same time the news of Jolliet's enterprise, confirmed by the treasonable maneuvers of Peñalosa, alerted Spain to the danger of foreign intrusion into her possessions in Mexico and in what was then known as New Mexico. One would expect, then, to find in the volume under review a more adequate and fuller attention to the Jolliet 1673 expedition, all the more so since it is precisely the Franco-Spanish rivalry that constitutes the theme of the volume.

Be this as it may, however. The diplomacy that underlay this rivalry is excellently traced and presented in a manner that will unquestionably hold the attention of the reader. That the volume is the fruit of long and serious study will be clear to anyone who looks over the lengthy and valuable bibliography (pp. 311-333). The author certainly deserves commendation for having enriched our libraries with this clear and interesting discussion of a very important and difficult theme.

There are a number of points, however, that merit special attention. For a more correct and adequate understanding of the papal bulls *Unam sanctam* and *Inter caetera* (pp. 19-25) the author might have profitably consulted Weckmann's exhaustive study *Las bulas Alejandrinas de 1493 y la teoría política del papado medieval* [(Mexico, 1949), pp. 244-262]. The reference to the Spanish conquest as having been achieved "under the guise of Christianizing the Indians" (p. 26), will be rejected by historians who know better and stand for truth and justice. Rippy's estimate, quoted approvingly, "that between thirteen and fourteen million Indians had been exterminated during the conquest" achieved by Spain

(p. 27, note 13) is merely a rehash of what Las Casas wrote in that infamous tract of his which no historian nowadays takes seriously. Nor will such an historian consider Rippy's *Crusaders of the Jungle* "an unprejudiced account of Spanish missionary activities in America . . ." (p. 28). Again, the activities of Las Casas for "the protection and improvement of the Indians" are not "kept in pious memory" (p. 28) by well informed historians. That "Spain plundered Mexico and Peru" (p. 33) will make those smile who know from the records what Spain contributed to these new lands politically, economically, socially, and culturally.

Informed readers will ask: was Roberval "deserted by Cartier" (p. 60) or was Cartier deserted by Roberval? The French venture in Canada might very well have proved successful if Roberval had co-operated with Cartier instead of engaging in piracy and consequently coming too late to save the situation in Canada. The following paragraph is most reprehensible. It reads:

> On the ocean, the French eventually ran out of drinking water and food until finally they selected by lot one of their number to be eaten by the others. Apparently this human sacrifice appeased the Gods, because soon afterwards the wretches were rescued off the English Coast (p. 82).

Those Frenchmen were not uncivilized savages but Christians. By no stretch of the imagination can their killing of a human being and eating of his flesh be thought to have been a prayer in time of dire need. Not even "apparently" was their rescue "off the English coast" a sign that "the Gods" were "appeased." The spelling of the plural form "Gods" with a capital "G" looks appallingly crude. If Gourges was a Catholic (p. 117), which is by no means certain, he was certainly not a credit to Catholic morality. To speak of "Marquette and his companion, Joliet" (p. 137) is to make the missionary the leader of the expedition, whereas Jolliet (to be spelled with double "l") was the leader and the missionary one of his six companions. In the index the missionary is listed as "Father" (p. 341). This is a mistake. "Father" is a title given to priests, and Marquette was not a priest. Strange, in regard to the Jolliet expedition of 1673, the author does not cite Dablon's narrative of the expedition which is easily available in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by Thwaites (LIX, 87-163). Very probably Dr. Folmer agreed with the present reviewer that the narrative was not authentic, it being the work of Dablon and not of Marquette, whereas the document in Margry, which the author used, was an official account drawn up for the government by Jolliet himself.

Pointing out flaws and errors should not be interpreted as a rejection of the work under review. On the contrary, it shows that, as previously stated, the reviewer considers *Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America*

a worthwhile contribution that deserves attention, especially as a study of Franco-Spanish diplomacy and it should, therefore, find a place on the shelves of our libraries.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK

Quincy College

Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628. By George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. Two Volumes. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1953. Pp. xvi, 584; xv, 585-1187. $20.00.)

In appointing Don Juan de Oñate Governor and Captain General of New Mexico, King Philip II of Spain observed, "The individual who undertakes the project [of colonizing New Mexico] must pay more particular attention to the service of God and our Lord and mine and the general welfare of the natives than to his own personal interests." These terse words were destined in prophetic fashion to set the pattern of future developments. Early Spanish colonizing activity in New Mexico gained notable success only in converting native races. The crown did not find the acquisition of the new province totally advantageous, for the consequent support of additional missionary endeavors resulted in a drain on the royal treasury. And Juan de Oñate, the man of courage, loyalty, and tenacity who led the expedition to New Mexico in 1598 and remained in the region as governor until compelled by mounting adversity to resign in 1607, achieved only the diminution of his fortune and reputation. Clearly, he had complied, perhaps more fully than he might have wished, with the orders of his king that personal interests should not play an important role in the colonization of New Mexico.

In the two handsome volumes under review, Professor Hammond of the University of California and Agapito Rey of Indiana University have compiled and translated into pleasurable English an imposing number of documents which relate the early struggles of the protagonist to gain command of the New Mexico expedition, his encounters against a rising tide of difficulties once in the region, and his protracted attempt to win exoneration from the various charges on which he had been tried and convicted following his return to Mexico City. A forty-page introduction provides a narrative summary of salient events in the permanent establishment of Spanish settlement in New Mexico. This brief background sheds no new light upon the story of Oñate, already ably told by Professor Hammond in an earlier work. The contribution of these volumes lies in presenting over 1,000 pages of important documents. Thanks to a highly skilled translation, helpful explanatory notes, and careful observance of

chronological order, these source materials develop their story with an eloquence seldom achieved in such a medium of narration. A considerable portion of the material has been previously available in such published works as Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and Approaches Thereto to 1773,* and Pacheco y Cárdenas, *Colección de documentos inéditos.* Reference to these earlier publications is always made by the present editors. But in substantial part the work consists of material heretofore unpublished, most of which was discovered by Professor Hammond in the Archives of the Indies. Documents presented in such attractive style not only represent a contribution to the specialist but, by removing the language barrier, make available to a far larger audience a source of true significance in the comparative examination of Spanish and English new world activity.

With remarkable clarity there emerges from these two volumes an understanding of the system which so often brought strict control and supervision to the Spanish frontier in America—a system comprising scrupulous attention to an infinite number of details, ceaseless formalities and involved red-tape, and assiduously devised checks and balances. Another characteristic of Spanish colonial activity, viz., missionary zeal, is vividly revealed. In a report of 1605 on conditions in New Mexico, the Marquis of Montesclaros, Viceroy of New Spain, described to the king the poverty of the newly settled region, but he concluded that if there was only one baptized native in New Mexico he must be protected by the crown, regardless of expense to the royal treasury. By 1608 it was reported that 7,000 natives had been baptized, and Viceroy Don Luis de Velasco noted that ". . . the greatest return to be expected from the province would be the harvest of souls, not riches of earthly gold or silver." The individual most chronically skeptical of Spanish colonizing motives could scarcely escape the conclusion that the lure of converting natives almost alone served to maintain Spanish activity in New Mexico after the hectic period from 1598 to 1607. Even in missionary endeavor, however, progress was not always smooth. The records presented in these two volumes reveal that the strife between ecclesiastical and civil officials, later destined to produce such destructive effects in New Mexico, had its roots in the earliest years of colonization. Unfortunately, none of the documents included in the work presents basic information about another major aspect of Spanish frontier expansion, the municipality. The composition and activities of the council of San Gabriel would doubtless prove of great interest to the student of this period.

This new contribution to the already rich field of early Spanish colonial activity in New Mexico represents Volumes V and VI of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940. This Coronado Series, of which Professor Hammond is the general editor, is published by the Uni-

versity of New Mexico Press, and has already established a reputation for scholarly excellence, beauty in format, and accuracy in printing. The present volumes in every respect continue this laudable tradition.

FREDERICK B. PIKE

University of Notre Dame

The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull, Artist-Patriot, 1756-1843. Edited by Theodore Sizer containing a supplement to the Works of Colonel John Trumbull. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1953. Pp. xxiii, 404. $6.00.)

Colonel John Trumbull of Lebanon, Connecticut, was at various times an officer in the Revolution, a diplomat, a business man, an architect, and the writer of an extraordinary autobiography. He was also, first and foremost, a painter continually striving for a financial success that fate denied him. As a portrait painter Trumbull was overshadowed by Gilbert Stuart. His historical paintings, on which he chiefly pinned his hopes, were no longer the novelty that those of West and Copley had been, and his other pictures never attracted much attention. In old age, therefore, he was glad to accept an annuity from Yale University in return for the gift of fifty-five paintings, including the sketches for his well known but heavy-handed canvases in the rotunda of the Capitol in Washington. These were exhibited with other Trumbull memorabilia in a building which the artist himself designed on the campus at New Haven. The old gallery has been replaced by a larger structure but the collection continues to be one of the treasures of the University. In recognition of this old association, Professor Theodore Sizer, the former director of the Yale University Gallery, has recently published an exhaustive critical study of all known paintings by Trumbull. To this he has now added a second edition of the painter's autobiography.

The first edition appeared in 1841, two years before the colonel died. In the intervening years the book has become so rare that few students of American civilization have read it. Yet it is a work of the widest interest because of the unusual character of Trumbull's life. The son of a Connecticut governor, he was for a time aide-de-camp to General Washington and later a friend and occasional confidant to Thomas Jefferson. Having resigned in pique from the army, he went to London in 1780 to study painting with a fellow American, Benjamin West. There, in spite of the war, he was left unmolested until the execution of Major André brought reprisal in the form of a brief and not altogether unpleasant imprisonment. Then for well over a quarter of a century John Trumbull was constantly

hurrying about Europe on promising missions. These seldom succeeded but they put him in contact with our negotiating statesmen abroad and the leading figures of France and England. He had his dark experiences of the French Revolution, was saved by the painter David, returned to dine with Lucien Bonaparte, and in his travels visited every collection of paintings along his route, sometimes commenting at length in his book on the pictures that interested him most.

It is precisely in identifying the often obscure and misspelled names of the authors of these paintings and the innumerable individuals whom Colonel Trumbull met in his travels, both in this country and Europe, that Mr. Sizer has performed an enormous editorial labor. He has also provided a series of brief appendices on subjects not touched upon in the autobiography, including the unedifying subject of the artist's worthless illegitimate son. In short, the memory of Trumbull and his unique transaction with Yale has been honored by the publication of this useful and handsome volume, which will be increasingly consulted as a source for the history of the long and colorful period in which Trumbull lived.

ROBERT C. SMITH

University of Pennsylvania

Valley of Democracy: The Frontier versus the Plantation in the Ohio Valley, 1775-1818. By John D. Barnhart. [Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series, No. 11.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1953. Pp. x, 338. $3.75.)

During the past two decades American historians have continued to analyze the basic significance of the original propositions of Frederick Jackson Turner with regard to the role of the frontier in American development. According to the author of this monograph, Professor Barnhart of Indiana University, more heat than light has at times been generated by these endeavors. He is of the opinion that the Turner interpretation ought to be tested by applying it to a specific area and time in western history. In his presentation he has selected the Ohio Valley during the period from 1775 to 1818 as a means to re-evaluate the primary Turner concepts.

Barnhart's account, based on a minute examination of the settlement and political factors involved in the evolution of the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois results in an analysis which conforms very closely to the interpretation originally offered by Frederick Jackson Turner for this area. The author has amassed evidence to indicate that the frontier period in the Ohio Valley produced a triumph for the democratic leaders over those who desired to establish the ascendancy of

the English country gentleman ideal in the trans-Appalachian country. He lists as the most notable accomplishments of the pioneers in the Ohio Valley "the achievement of separation from the South Atlantic states, the democratization of the colonial system of the Northwest Ordinance, the establishment of majority rule in the new states, and the development of individualistic frontier democracy based upon faith in the common man." In tracing the acquisition of these gains the author has drawn heavily upon source materials found in available frontier newspapers and the monumental data provided by the Draper Collection and the various volumes of the *Territorial Papers of the United States* dealing with the Ohio Valley.

Although Professor Barnhart has brought together much evidence in support of the contention of Turner that the frontier experience, at least in terms of the history of the Ohio Valley between 1775 and 1818, produced such features as equality, freedom of opportunity, and faith in the common man as unique aspects of American democracy, his account still illustrates the desirability of making further modifications with regard to the primary ideas presented by Turner. In this analysis of the changes which occurred in the Ohio Valley during the frontier period the predominant emphasis is placed upon the economic and political factors which were involved in the transformation of this area. The role of the missionary, both Protestant and Catholic, and his contribution in the fostering of religion and concern for education and the arts receive meager treatment. The nature of frontier living in the French settlements of Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes merits more detailed attention. The Turner critics have questioned the importance which early life in the West had upon the effective Americanization of the pioneer French settlers or later immigrant groups such as the Germans and the Scandinavians. Attachment to European religious beliefs, customs, and the mother-tongue long remained vital influences in the lives of these residents on the frontier. Such religious and social aspects of western history deserve to be woven into the pattern of American development.

VINCENT G. TEGEDER

St. John's University
Collegeville

The Adams Federalists. By Manning J. Dauer. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1953. Pp. xxiii, 381. $6.00.)

The Adams wing of the Federalist Party has been neglected because Hamilton and Jefferson, and their supporters, have attracted more attention and have been easier to study. In this book the author's method was

quantitative analysis. He supported his account with twenty-two numbered tables, eleven maps of roll calls in the House of Representatives, and eight tables of house votes which record the votes of all representatives on decisive issues, from the first session of the Fourth Congress to the first session of the seventh congress, inclusive. These data were used to classify the representatives according to party membership (eighty percent regularity qualified a representative for party membership, in Mr. Dauer's analysis). These voting records, and the roll call maps, are a permanent contribution of great value. The reviewer, however, thought it curious to divide the congressmen into party members and "moderates," as though party regularity was an extremist position. The word wanted here is "independent."

The analysis showed that the Federalist Party was a compound of two elements, commercial farmers (as opposed to subsistence farmers), and businessmen. This was an unstable compound which detonated in 1800. The farmer element was the group the author has isolated as the "Adams Federalists." Most of them became Republicans after 1800. Since Mr. E. P. Link's study of the Democratic Clubs of the 1790's has shown us that the Republican Party was a farmer-labor party, it is unusually interesting to learn from Mr. Dauer that the Federalist Party was a farmer-capitalist party. A large part of the book is devoted to a narrative political history of John Adams' administration which shows how the capitalist element, led by Hamilton, steadily alienated fractions of its agrarian support until it became a minority and lost the election of 1800.

The data given in the seventy-five pages of Appendices I-III will be of permanent value. An incredible amount of labor has gone into the compilation and analyses of voting records, which would also be of great utility in writing a history of the Congress. The author made a very good point when he observed that local historical societies might be of much service in compiling local election returns which are necessary to this kind of study and which are very hard to get. Chapter 3 is especially recommended for its summary of Adams' political philosophy, considered as a cause of political effects.

MARSHALL SMELSER

University of Notre Dame

Texas Irish Empresarios and Their Colonies. By William H. Oberste. (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Co. 1953. Pp. xii, 310. $10.00.)

In this competent study Monsignor Oberste, long favorably known for several books on historic Refugio and its mission, has widened the scope of his research. He focuses attention on the men and women who orig-

inated and made enduring the Irish settlements of southwest Texas, chiefly in the decade preceding the Battle of San Jacinto. Evidencing a full and fine stature of scholarship, he brings them before us in a vivid three-dimensional treatment. James Power, James Hewetson, John McMullen, and James McGloin, his principals, repay the time and toil he lavished upon them.

Light is instructively thrown, in the twenty-one chapters of the volume, on a kaleidoscope of pioneer factors: preliminary contracts signed by the immigrant leaders with the Mexican government, the economy and social organization of the newly settled districts, Indian problems, mission interests, litigation with native claimants, the activities of the incoming groups in the war for Texas independence, and their fortunes in the subsequent Lone-Star Republic. Of necessity, ecclesiastical data being sparse, the religious life of the colonists is suggested rather than described. Disappointingly, they seem not to have recorded the ministrations among them of the erratic Padre Muldoon.

Two appendixes detailing contracts and titles, seven maps and plats, and a satisfactory index contribute to the artistry and usefulness of the book. Although a bibliography is lacking, readers of the many serviceable footnotes will encounter little difficulty in listing primary and secondary sources. The former are particularly impressive. Monsignor Oberste successfully sifted a variety of materials available in the national archives and municipal offices of Mexico, in several New Orleans files, in a dozen southwest Texas county courthouses, and in the large collections at San Antonio and Austin. It is a matter of serious regret that the purchase price of the book, unwisely high, may limit sales and prevent its winning deserved popularity.

RALPH F. BAYARD

Kenrick Seminary

The Nebraska Question, 1852-1854. By James C. Malin. (Lawrence, Kansas: The Author. 1953. Pp. ix, 455. $4.00.)

From the perspective of a century, Professor Malin has carefully studied the months prior to Douglas' Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854. His book is full of details and offers a great many avenues for thoughtful investigation. The bulk of the work is devoted to the northwestern counties of Missouri. The author has examined the available newspaper files of that area and with extensive quotations presents a full story of the activities and opinions of men directly concerned with the Nebraska question—with the problems of the extinction of Indian titles, the opening of the government lands in Nebraska to settlement, and the Pacific railroad. The frontier move-

ment for organization of Nebraska is well presented. Through the eyes of the newspaper editors the reader gets a first-hand view of the events and some insight into the motivation of the participants.

Interspersed into this basic historical account are broad interpretations of historical processes at work. Malin's point is to show that slavery was not the central issue but that the generation of the 1850's faced "larger realities." The important issue was the revolution in the structure of society resulting from the dominance of mechanical power over muscle power and the questions it raised in regard to "freedom of the individual in society, freedom of locality from outside interference, and freedom in time." The generation of the 1850's was operating in what Malin considers a closed-time period, regarding the problems which it faced as "original propositions" instead of being tied by continuity to the past. "This freedom in space and time was the basic issue involved in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. . . . It was the explicit assertion of the doctrine of the original proposition. Attention was diverted from this larger and fundamental significance, however, by the fanaticism of the extremists at opposite ends of the scale over the slavery question." Senator Douglas, Malin insists, sensed the correct situation and his action must be interpreted in this light.

The author's attitude is one of great caution. "On the theory that understatement is safer than overstatement," he remarks, "severe restraints upon interpretation have prevailed, some points being suggested only as provocative questions." While this is a laudable viewpoint, it makes for a difficult book. The provocative questions should issue forth more clearly from the mass of material presented if a book is to be an integral whole. One can profitably consider the grand interpretations suggested throughout the book—multidimensional time-space theory, the land mass concept applied to mid-America, the replacement of muscle power by steam power, and competition of cultures rather than of sections. But the reader, serious student though he might be, will surely wish that the author had worked his wealth of information and valuable suggestions into a more readable whole.

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA

Saint Louis University

The Negro in the Civil War. By Benjamin Quarles. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1953. Pp. xv, 379. $5.00.)

This is the most comprehensive study of the Negro's role in the Civil War published to date. Earlier accounts by William Wells Brown, Joseph T. Wilson, and George Washington Williams, which appeared within twenty-five years after the end of the war, can scarcely be considered

objective. Later accounts, such as Bell I. Wiley's *Southern Negroes, 1861-1865* and Herbert Aptheker's *The Negro in the Civil War,* both published in 1938, only partially cover the same ground. Frequent articles in historical journals have supplemented these volumes. Yet, despite much scholarly effort "the rich and varied roles of Negroes in the Civil War have not been completely or impartially presented." It was to fulfill this need and "to set the records straight [and] to restore the Negro to his rightful, active place in the war that set him free" (publisher's jacket) that the present study was undertaken. The result is an entirely readable, well balanced, comprehensive study of the Negro in the Civil War.

This volume treats the numerous points at which the rebellion touched or involved the Negro. It is significantly broader than the title suggests, for unlike earlier studies, limited largely to military engagements or to a specific section, *The Negro in the Civil War* covers the total Negro community and its activities and attitudes during the war. Professor Quarles concludes that Negroes contributed far more to the winning of their freedom than is generally attributed and that they "gave prior to receiving." This conclusion is based upon an analysis of three groups of Negroes: those contributing non-combatant services, contrabands who filtered into Union lines and followed the armies, and the more than 215,000 Negroes who were "officially" listed in the armed services. The author traverses old ground with regard to the "Negro soldier question" and the faltering policy whereby public officials were forced to concede that employment of Negro troops was not inconsistent with the public interest. He is at his best when discussing contrabands, more than 200,000 of whom were employed by Union armies as teamsters, blacksmiths, spies, wheelrights, and scouts, with the result that new insights are given into the efforts of this unfortunate group to become literate and self-supporting.

A distinct contribution to the historiography of the Negro and the Civil War, Professor Quarles' study is based largely on a careful examination of previously known sources, utilizing only those which can "pass muster as to scientific scholarship." Whereas historians will readily concede that Union victory materially advanced the "ideals of freedom and the dignity of man," they will doubtless question the author's assertion that the Civil War was, or any war can be, truly "an uplifting national experience." Aside from the general identification of sources in the narrative and in chapter bibliographies in lieu of documentation, the study has decided value and is imperative reading for those who would know the story of the Negro's role in winning his freedom.

BERNARD H. NELSON

Miner Teachers College
Washington

The Case of Mrs. Surratt: Her Controversial Trial and Execution for Conspiracy in the Lincoln Assassination. By Guy W. Moore. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 142. $3.00.)

Mr. Moore has carefully re-examined the evidence in the famous trial of Mrs. Mary Surratt and draws a well supported conclusion that her conviction was a miscarriage of justice. The facts in the trial of the alleged conspirators have been presented often and in detail, but this writer has treated the subject in an interesting and impartial manner. In commenting on some allegedly unfair aspects of the trial, he points out that circumstantial evidence was against Mrs. Surratt, and he also explains that the right of an accused to testify was not established by law until 1878. Whether or not there was sufficient legal foundation for a trial before a military commission, rather than in a civil court, the fact remains that Mrs. Surratt was in effect retried at the trial of her son in 1867, and he could not be convicted. This aspect of the case has in Mr. Moore's opinion never before been adequately reviewed. The testimony of Louis Weichmann, a boarder, and John Lloyd, a tavern employee, differed substantially from that which they gave in 1865 at the conspiracy trial and the writer concludes that they aided the prosecution partly from fear and partly in hope of reward. Weichmann did receive a life position in the customs office. John Ford, the theater owner, became acquainted with both men while in jail during the trial of the conspirators, and expressed astonishment when he learned of their testimony which conflicted with thef acts as they had related them to him. Mrs. Surratt's behavior on the day of the assassination, states Mr. Moore, "strongly suggests complete ignorance of Booth's scheme. . . . That she was innocent of any part in the assassination is as certain as anything can be which is not subject to absolute proof."

The case has, of course, always been of some special interest to Catholics as the Surratts, Dr. Samuel Mudd, and Michael O'Laughlin were of the Catholic faith. Judge Advocate General Joseph Holt and Secretary of War Stanton held, among other freaks of the imagination, that a Catholic plot had been responsible for Lincoln's death, and General T. M. Harris, one of the judges, believed that Booth had been recently converted from the Episcopalian Church. He later (1897) wrote a book entitled *Rome's Responsibility for the Assassination of Lincoln.*

Mrs. Surratt's unfortunate combination, that of being a southern woman and a Catholic, did nothing to aid her cause.

J. Walter Coleman

Gettysburg National Park

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind as planned by a commission of UNESCO was subjected to severe criticism when first presented and the criticisms have unquestionably been very useful. All Catholic historians, however, will probably not share the unqualified optimism of the president of the UNESCO commission on the Scientific and Cultural History of Mankind, Paulo Carneiro of Brazil, expressed in his letter of January 21, 1952, to J. Torres Bodet, Director General of UNESCO. In the last paragraph of this letter, Dr. Carneiro says: "Let Catholics be reassured. The shade of Bossuet will always be present at the discussions of the historians convoked by UNESCO for putting into execution one of the most promising projects in its educational, scientific, and cultural program." The criticism of the new History of Mankind and the difficulties of its preparation have led to the publication of the new *Journal of World History* (French title: *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale;* Spanish title: *Cuadernos de historia mundial*) under the auspices of the UNESCO commission. Its appearance is most welcome, for it is to serve as an organ for submitting certain outstanding contributions to the History of Mankind to public examination and criticism. The first number of the new quarterly was published as of July, 1953, and the fourth number as of April, 1954. Each number, which runs to 250 pages, contains articles by non-contributors to the History of Mankind but usually suggested by the editor of the given volume or section, critical discussions, official texts of the commission, and a chronicle of news of special or general interest to all those concerned in any way with the preparation of the UNESCO History. The official languages are French, English, and Spanish, with résumés in German, Russian, and Arabic of the main articles. The articles are comprehensive in scope and interpretative rather than merely factual. With one or two exceptions, the quality is unusually high. The attention of the readers of this REVIEW is called especially to R. Pierce Beaver, "Recent Literature on Overseas Missionary Movements from 1300 to 1800," I (July, 1953), 139-163; H. Jedin, "Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des conciles généraux," 164-178; and O. Halecki, "The Place of Christendom in the History of Mankind" (April, 1954), 927-950. Stechert-Hafner, 31-33 East 10th Street, New York City, are sole agents for American subscriptions. The subscription price is $6.00 per year.

From June 21 to July 2 there was held in Washington, D. C., the first Institute on Records Management under the auspices of the American University in co-operation wtih the National Archives and Records

Service. This new and growing field, which is first cousin to archives administration, will by its development either help or hinder the historians of the future who will be working in what are today's current records. An enthusiastic group of forty was enrolled, including representatives from abroad and nine from private, nongovernmental agencies. Among the pioneers were Monsignor Frederic G. Heles, Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, and the Reverend George Zorn, S.J., Archivist of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus. Henry J. Browne, Archivist of the Catholic University of America, was a member of an eight-man advisory council of the institute.

The June number of *Theological Studies* carried a lengthy and enlightening article by Francis E. McMahon entitled, "Orestes Brownson on Church and State." Under the major headings: primacy of the spiritual, union of Church and State, and totalitarian democracy, the author set forth thoughts of Brownson on the Church-State problem which, ***mutatis mutandis***, are almost as relevant to our day as they were to his own age. At the outset Dr. McMahon defined his purpose as "purely historical, to present as objectively as possible both the mind and the spirit of Brownson on these topics" (p. 175). The heavy documentation reveals a thorough mastery of the works of the philosopher. One is reminded in reading the article of the remark of Russell Kirk in *The Conservative Mind* (Chicago, 1953) to the effect that "something like a conspiracy of silence has kept his name out of histories of American thought, perhaps because Brownson's attack on Protestantism in its churchly and social forms does not fit conveniently into the neat categories of conventional intellectual surveys" (pp. 213-214).

The social science section of the American Benedictine Academy held its fourth annual meeting at St. Benedict's Abbey and Mount Saint Scholastica College, Atchison, on August 23-26. Among the papers of interest to historians were the following: "Atchison's First Railroad," by Peter Beckman, O.S.B., of St. Benedict's College; "A Dictionary of English Benedictine Writers, 1300-1540: A Project Report," by Adrian Fuerst of St. Meinrad's Archabbey; "The Federal Government's Indian Trade Policy, 1796-1832," by Aloysius Plaisance, O.S.B., of St. Bernard's Abbey; "Archabbot Boniface Wimmer. A Pioneer of the Law Proper for the Benedictine Order," by Felix Fellner, O.S.B., of St. Vincent's Archabbey; "Berdyaev's View of the Mission of Russia in the Pattern of World History," by Sister Juanita Pavlick, O.S.B., of Mount Saint Scholastica College; "The Bursfeld Union: A Benedictine Reform of the Fifteenth Century," by Roland Behrendt, O.S.B., of St. John's University; "The

St. Meinrad Sioux Missions and Abbot Martin Marty, O.S.B.," by Albert Kleber, O.S.B., of St. Meinrad's Archabbey. Father Vincent Tegeder, O.S.B., of St. John's University, Collegeville, is chairman of the social science section of the American Benedictine Academy.

The annual volume of student essays from Marygrove College, Detroit, is devoted this year to the new Saint Pius X with fourteen essays covering the principal phases of his pontificate. They have been done with the same careful workmanship that has distinguished the thirteen previous numbers in the series which began in 1940 as a commencement number of the *Campus Reporter*, the student newspaper.

The *Sheaf* is a new annual publication for the students and alumni of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, New York. The first issue is a Marian number with several articles on the Immaculate Conception. Father Robert F. McNamara is the moderator of the publication.

As a part of its April issue, *Speculum* published a special number containing essays by the American members of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions. These essays under the general title of *Mediaeval Representation in Theory and Practice* are introduced by Professor Helen M. Cam. The essays are listed in our Periodical Literature.

Eduardo Ospina, S.J., professor of theology in the Javeriana University, Bogotà, and vice president of the National Committee for the Defense of the Faith, is the author of a recent book (171 pages) entitled *Las sectas protestantes en Colombia.* (Bogotà: Imprenta Nacional. 1954). It gives a careful and documented survey of the recent controversy over the Protestant missionaries in Colombia. Edward Sarmiento in a review article of Father Ospina's book in the *Tablet* of London for July 24 characterized it as "a model of patient forbearance and moderation."

Through the generous gift of Samuel J. Fanning, who took his doctorate at the University of California in 1952 with a dissertation on "The Irish Absentee Landowners of 1773," the Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America has recently acquired a microfilm copy of *The Harcourt Papers.* This collection was edited by Edward William Harcourt and printed at Oxford by James Parker & Company, 1876-1903, for private circulation in only fifty sets. The editor stated: "My object is not to present a readable book to the public, but to preserve documents and reminiscences *in extenso* for those who come after me" (I, ix). The fourteen volumes include a variety of documents on the Harcourt family,

but their chief interest for historians is, perhaps, the memoir of Simon, Earl Harcourt (1714-1777) in Volumes III and IV, and the papers of the same, who held a number of offices including governor to the Prince of Wales (the future George III), 1751-1752; British ambassador to France, 1768-1772, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from October, 1772, to his resignation from that post in January, 1777.

Carl L. Lokke publishes an article, "The Continental Congress Papers: Their History, 1789-1952," in *National Archives Accessions* No. 51 (June, 1954). The main body of those papers was transferred to the National Archives from the Library of Congress in 1952.

Few institutions abroad have made a greater contribution to the personnel of the Catholic Church in the United States than All Hallows College in Dublin. The 1953-1954 number of the *All Hallows Annual* contains a section (pp. 132-155) on certain of the priest alumni who worked in various American dioceses with excerpts from the correspondence which they sent back to Ireland from their mission stations in this country. These sketches, entitled "Pioneer Priests," suggest the richness of research possibilities which are to be found in the archives of All Hallows College for the historian of the American Church. Since its opening in 1842 as Ireland's first missionary seminary, All Hallows College has sent out over 3,000 priests of whom more than one-third worked in the United States. The current issue of the *Annual* lists the names (pp. 254-258) of the priests who are at present engaged in this country, the number totaling 328.

The Cork University Press has inaugurated a new series of publications dealing with Irish history. The first number is a brochure of forty pages by Professor James Hogan of University College, Cork, which is entitled *The Irish Manuscripts Commission*. Professor Denis Gwynn of the same institution has another number in preparation on "Edmund Burke and James Barry: Their Background and Connections in Cork," and the Reverend T. J. Walsh is preparing one on "The Irish Colleges at Bordeaux and Lille." Students of Irish history will find Professor Hogan's pamphlet very helpful in bringing themselves abreast of the work now in progress on Irish subjects and, too, in having a brief over-all account of the story of some of the principal sources for Irish history from the Middle Ages through the modern period. The price of the brochure is 2/6.

Students in search of subjects for graduate theses in English Catholic history will be interested in the article of Lawrence Dopson called "Stuff of History" in the May 15 issue of *The Tablet* of London. It is a summary of the work done by the National Register of Archives in unearthing

original materials in the history of the Church in England. *The Tablet's* comment about these documents was to the effect that "there was never a time when so many rich mines invited the quarrying of Catholic historians."

Dom David Knowles, O.S.B., professor of mediaeval history in the University of Cambridge since 1947, has been appointed to the Regius professorship of history at Cambridge. The Regius professorships at Oxford and Cambridge were founded by George I for the express purpose of training men who would uphold the Protestant tradition. The selection of Dom Knowles will hardly contribute much to the original purpose of the founder. But religious prejudice no longer plays the part it once did in the English universities, and the distinguished Benedictine has won such solid fame as an outstanding mediaevalist by his many books and articles on the religious orders, that it will occasion no surprise in learned circles that the Regius professorship of history should now rest in the hands of a Benedictine monk, whose order was largely destroyed in England in the days of the strong Protestant ascendancy.

If the appointment of Dom Knowles is not without a certain irony, neither was the appointment in 1895 of Lord Acton, the first Catholic to hold the chair. Acton thus found himself occupying an honored professorship in the very university where a generation before three of its colleges had denied him admittance as a student because of his Catholicism. One is reminded of the statement of Herbert Paul in editing the *Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone* (New York, 1904) when he said: "Sir John Acton, so peculiarly fitted by nature and education to adorn and illustrate a University, may well have asked with Macaulay, what was the faith of Edward the Third, and Henry the Sixth, of Margaret of Anjou, and Margaret of Richmond, from whose foundations the head of a Catholic family was turned away" (p. 16).

Leonard Boyle, O.P., of Blackfriars, Oxford, won the Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for 1954 for his essay entitled *"The Oculus Sacerdotis* and Some Other Works of William of Pagula."

The new edition of *Der grosse Herder* begun in 1952 has reached its fourth volume, plus a tenth volume—outside the alphabetical order—which is entitled: *Der Mensch in seiner Welt.*

The report of the XXXV Congreso Eucarístico Internacional held at Barcelona May 27-June 1, 1952, has been published in three large volumes at Barcelona. Two of them are devoted to the talks and papers on the

theme of the congress: The Eucharist and Peace. Thirty-three papers are listed under history and archaeology. A third sumptuous volume is devoted to plates.

Fasicle 2, Volume 24 of *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* contains a bibliography of Spanish church history, 1949-1950, with 2039 items.

July 16 marked the 900th anniversary since the legates of Pope Leo IX placed the bull of excommunication against Patriarch Michael Cerularius on the altar of Saint Sophia. To commemorate this sad occasion the *Nouvelle revue théologique* devotes its June number to articles on the schism. They are listed in our section on Periodical Literature.

The second issue of "Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations" is entitled *Studies in Islamic Cultural History* (American Anthropological Association, 1954). Four eminent Orientalists present the lectures and the ensuing discussion which took place in Mainz in 1952: von Grunebaum on Islamic studies and cultural research; Kissling on the sociological role of the Dervish Orders; Caskel on the Beduinization of Arabia; Spuler on Iran and Islam. The essays are particularly valuable because of their synthetic approach to the complex social and historical changes in the Islamic countries.

The REVIEW offers its congratulations and good wishes to the most Reverend Jerome D. Hannan, Bishop-elect of Scranton. The bishop-elect has been Vice Rector of the Catholic University of America for a period of three years. A native of Pittsburgh, he was before assuming his administrative office a member of the faculty of canon law of the university and editor of the *Jurist*. He is the co-author of a two-volume manual of canon law.

Peter Leo Johnson of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, has been elevated to the rank of domestic prelate. Monsignor Johnson's life of Archbishop Henni is in the hands of the publishers.

Sister Catharine Frances Redmond, professor of history and since 1939 dean of students at Chestnut Hill College, was named president of the college in August. She did her undergraduate work at Villanova University and took her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees at the University of Pennsylvania. Sister Catharine Frances is a member of the College Entrance Board and of the Committee on Undergraduate Studies of the Institute of International Education.

The Reverend John Tracy Ellis was given an honorary D.H.L. at the annual commencement of Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, on June 1.

The Reverend Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., has been named Director of the Academy of American Franciscan History and Mathias C. Kiemen, O.F.M., has been appointed the new managing editor of the academy's quarterly journal, *The Americas*. Father Tibesar will continue to offer courses at the Catholic University of America, where he has been a member of the staff of the Department of History during the past six years.

The Reverend Anselm Biggs, O.S.B., who has been rector of the seminary at Belmont Abbey, has recently been named dean of the college.

The Reverend Jeremiah J. Smith, O.F.M. Conv., of Bellarmine College, Louisville, Kentucky, is beginning work on a history of the Friars Minor Conventuals.

Dom Paul Séjourné died at Lisieux on November 3, 1953, at the age of sixty-seven. His thesis for the diploma of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes was a thick volume on Saint Isidore of Seville. He contributed numerous articles to the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* and to the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. A monk of Saint Mary's Abbey in Paris, he had taught dogmatic theology at the University of Strasbourg since 1946.

Karl Hofmann, professor of canon law and of the history of canon law in the faculty of Catholic theology at the University of Tübingen, died on January 13. His excellent studies on the *Dictatus Papae* of Gregory VII were especially welcomed by historians.

Father Ferdinand Cavallera, honorary dean of the faculty of theology of Toulouse, died on March 10. He was born in 1875 at Puy en Velay of Italian parents. He took his doctorat ès lettres at the Sorbonne in 1906, presenting theses in early church history, and in that same year was ordained a priest in the Society of Jesus. In 1909 he succeeded Père Eugène Portalié in the chair of historical theology at Toulouse. His bibliography inclusive of book reviews runs to forty-nine pages in the January-March number of the *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, where E. Boularand writes a tribute to the memory of this truly great scholar.

BRIEF NOTICES

REICH, JEROME R. *Jacob Leisler's Rebellion. A Study of Democracy in New York, 1664-1720.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 194. $4.50.)

England, in the weeks that followed the flight of James II to France, was drifting toward anarchy. The army which had been disbanded by the king's last official act was broken into angry groups which were hostile to civil interference and distrustful of Catholics. Rumors of invasion added to the confusion. These conditions found a parallel in Manhattan Island where Jacob Leisler, in the uncertainty of the political situation, usurped control of the southern part of the colony of New York. His democratic efforts halted the trend toward aristocratic government, broke up illegal land holdings, reformed the tax system, freed trade, and improved the position of the city workers. At his suggestion representatives of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York met "to promote the welfare of the provinces" and to unite in an offensive against Canada. Had Leisler's "energetic talents for business, unflinching firmness of principle and liberality of feeling" been matched by prudence, tolerance, and tact he would not have aroused such opposition that his opponents brought about his downfall. When the governor appointed by William and Mary reached New York in 1691, Leisler was tried for treason and executed.

In a well documented study, Mr. Reich shows that Leisler considered himself a guardian of civil liberties in the interregnum between the flight of James II and the clearly established authority of William and Mary. The subsequent reversal of the attainder and the restoration of Leisler's estates to his heirs confirm this claim. It is important to notice that it was the efforts of his supporters to vindicate his name that led to the development of political parties in New York as early as 1690. It would have been of equal significance had the author chosen to examine in greater detail the theory stressed by contemporaries that the revolt was a religious crusade against Catholicism. Leisler stated this in his speech at the time of his execution when he declared that he had been fighting to ensure the accession of William of Orange in New York primarily because he was afraid of the religious intentions of James II. (KATHRYN SULLIVAN)

ROBINSON, C. A., JR. *The History of Alexander the Great.* Volume I. Part I. *An Index to the Extant Historians.* Part II. *The Fragments.* [Brown University Studies. Volume XVI.] (Providence: Brown University. 1953. Pp. xvii, 276. $7.00.)

In spite of the voluminous modern literature on Alexander, including analyses of the ancient sources and their problems, Professor Robinson is justified in maintaining that the ancient sources have not yet been investigated with the necessary thoroughness and comprehensiveness. Even Tarn's work, for all its brilliance, still leaves much to be desired in the handling of the ancient sources.

Part I of the volume under review contains an index to the source material in the five extant historians: Arrian, Diodorus, Justin, Curtius, and Plutarch. The references are grouped under the place names occurring in the itinerary of Alexander as worked out by Robinson in his monograph, *The Ephemerides of Alexander's Expedition* (Providence, 1932), and subsequent studies. For presenting the information contained in the five historians mentioned comprehensively, but, at the same time, as systematically and conveniently as possible, the author has worked out fifty-eight categories or topics which cover completely the various aspects of Alexander's life and work. Then, under each locality, he lists the ancient historians by letters and the various pertinent categories by Roman numerals. Thus, one can control fully and easily all the ancient sources for any given event or incident in the history of Alexander. Part II contains new English translations of all the fragments of the ancient historical sources for Alexander as presented by F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Part II B (Berlin, 1929), pp. 618-828.

This book is an outstanding contribution to the study of Alexander, and at once takes its place beside the similarly indispensable work of H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Munich, 1926). Let us hope that Volume II, which is to contain an analysis of and commentary on the Categories and Fragments, will appear very soon. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

SCOTT, J. F. *The Scientific Work of René Descartes.* (London: Taylor and Francis, Ltd. 1953. Pp. viii, 211. £1.)

To make their subject more palatable the authors of high school mathematics textbooks now include a dash of biographical data. In preparing this seasoning the name of René Descartes is rarely omitted; also much of college mathematics is based on *cartesian* geometry. For reasons such as these Descartes' proper place in the history of mathematics and science has been somewhat obscured. The casual student is apt to assign to him more than his just share in the development of analytic geometry while omitting his name completely from the list of those responsible for the development of other important scientific concepts.

This book, then, was undertaken with the double purpose of placing Descartes' mathematical contributions in their proper perspective and to evaluate some of his other scientific accomplishments which were destined to exert a profound influence on scientific thought for two centuries. To illustrate these objectives we shall state three conclusions reached by the author after some painstaking research and sound argument.

First, it is now quite clear that considerable progress had been made in analytic geometry before Descartes entered the field. However, the principal achievements were his own and he was instrumental in placing the new science on a good foundation. He blazed the trail for Leibniz and Newton and in this may be his chief claim to fame. Secondly, Descartes was a contributor to all the principal fields of knowledge of his time. It is quite probable that Snell

and Descartes discovered Snell's Law independently, and that there is little evidence to support the charge that Descartes was guilty of plagiarism. On the other hand, e.g., Descartes may have anticipated Torricelli's discoveries on the weight of air by some twelve years. Finally Descartes found it very difficult to abandon a beautiful theory solely because it conflicted with a simple experimental fact. One can hardly avoid the observation that Descartes would have reached even greater heights in science had he been blessed with more respect for his contemporaries.

In brief, Descartes' scientific reputation is not damaged by this volume. After studying the documented evidence one must conclude that René Descartes was a star of the first magnitude during a period that will ever remain resplendent in the history of science. The author is a recognized mathematician who has now made another worthy contribution to the history of philosophy and science. (Edward J. Finan)

Tristram, Henry (Ed.). *The Idea of a Liberal Education: A Selection from the Works of Newman.* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd. 1952. Pp. 220. 10/6.)

This handy volume of 220 pages is one of a series in the Life, Literature and Thought Library which aims to provide in attractive form English texts illustrating some of the chief developments in English civilization since the Middle Ages. As Newman is acknowledged today as the classical exponent of the theory of liberal education, the editor, who is an outstanding authority on him, undertakes to present in brief Newman's exposition of that theory and to illustrate his view about it in selected extracts from his works.

The volume has a substantial introduction. It treats of Newman's works, Oxford and the conception of a liberal education, the attack of the *Edinburgh Review* upon this conception and its defense, Newman's advocacy of this conception in the *Idea of a University,* and Newman as the product of a liberal education.

The selections made by Father Tristram of the Oratory, Birmingham, place the theory of Newman regarding a liberal education in its historical and personal setting. The extracts are made largely from Newman's *Historical Sketches* and the *Idea of a University.* There are twenty-three selections in all varying in length from two pages to sixteen. When the reader has finished reading them he should have a good understanding of what Newman meant by declaring that "A university is a place of teaching universal knowledge," and that the object of a university is "the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement." It is clear that the criterion of education, according to Newman, was whether it enabled a man "to write well."

The book has an adequate general bibliography and numerous notes which should prove an aid to the research student. It is designed for the use of students in universities and colleges, but it should prove equally serviceable to the general reader. (Francis P. Cassidy)

WHITAKER, VIRGIL K. *Shakespeare's Use of Learning.* (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1953. Pp. ix, 366. $6.50.)

A systematic study of Shakespeare's use of his sources has been long overdue. Vast energies have been poured out in efforts to identify particular sources of every one of the plays, and isolated and partial studies of the use the Bard made of these sources in the writing of individual plays, and even of large groups of his plays, especially the histories, have been offered in abundance. But Professor Whitaker's book represents the first large-scale effort to analyze in chronological order, and in a well organized way, the use Shakespeare made of his sources throughout the canon. This does not mean that the author examines each play exhaustively in relation to the sources, where sources exist, one after another; on the contrary, some plays, such as *All's Well* and the last plays, including *Anthony and Cleopatra,* receive short shrift, but this is determined by the controlling theory concerning Shakespeare's development, and whether a given play is relevant as evidence of this development. It is, nevertheless, a pioneer work of real importance. Moreover, the author displays an admirable knowledge of the whole field of Shakespearean scholarship, which qualifies him eminently for the task to which he set himself many years ago.

The purpose of the work is "to demonstrate that Shakespeare underwent a steady intellectual development that paralleled his growth in technical skill as a dramatist." This intellectual development "led to a fundamental change in Shakespeare's method of building his plays from his sources," a change which consisted basically in the fact, in the author's view, that up to approximately 1600 the plot derived from the source determined the characterization, whereas after 1600 the solution of a character problem determined the plot and this, Professor Whitaker holds, resulted in a much better play. The chapters on *Hamlet* and on the other great tragedies are outstanding. Your reviewer, however, prefers to believe that Shakespeare's tragedy of moral choice began with *Romeo and Juliet,* rather than with *Julius Caesar.*

The book provides cogent evidence to indicate that Shakespeare's most artistic productions were largely the result of the deepening of his understanding of Christianity with its stress upon the freedom of the will and the reality of sin. (H. EDWARD CAIN)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

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Origine et formation de l'histoire. Fernand Lefebvre (*La revue de l'université Laval*, May).

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¿Concepcion occidental o eurásica de la historia eslave? José Matl (*ibid.*).

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Pascal and the Scientific Spirit. W. G. Moore (*ibid.*).

The Historic Origins of Liberalism. Christopher Dawson (*Rev. of Politics*, July).

Der kirchliche Zentralbau. Dr. Merkle (*Theologische Quartalschrift*, Zweites Quartalheft, 1954).

Archäologie des Petrusgrabes. Josef Fink (*Theologische Revue* No. 3, 1954).

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The Date of the Outbreak of Montanism. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville (*ibid.*).

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The Festival of Encaenia Ecclesiae in the Ancient Church with Special Reference to Palestine and Syria. Matthew Black (*ibid.*).

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Jesus Palémon. P. Glorieux (*ibid.*).

"Les renards de Samson." A. M. Dubarle (*ibid.*).

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Un faux saint Bernard. M. Hubert (*ibid.*).

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